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DEBATE IN THE SENATE

ON THE

Canadian Pacific Railway.

THE GOVERNMENT POLICY CRITICISED.

The following is a reprint from the Official Report of the Debate in the Senate on the Policy of the Government respecting the Pacific Railway :

MONDAY, March 20.

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL moved, "That the construction of the Pacific Railway having formed the principal condition upon which British Columbia entered the Canadian Confederation, every reasonable effort should have been made by the Government of the Dominion to satisfy the people of that Province that faith would be kept with them; but this House regrets to find that whilst incurring, or ready to incur, immediate expenditures of several millions of dollars not needed, or of doubtful utility, the Government has failed to proceed vigorously with the construction of our great, national inter-oceanic railway, which is so essential to the material advancement of all the Provinces of the Dominion, as well as to the early consolidation of political and social union among the whole people."—He said he would claim the respectful attention of the House on this subject. He might be somewhat discursive, but he would claim the indulgence of hon. gentlemen, inasmuch as he had troubled the House very little during the present session. Moreover, the subject had grown to be of

such momentous proportions, that it was watched with intense interest and anxiety by those who were instrumental in consummating the confederation between British Columbia and the older provinces. They had watched with a great deal of interest and anxiety the proceedings as the terms were being negotiated in England by Sir George Cartier and Hon. Wm. Macdougall for the acquisition of the North-West Territories, and at the same time they endeavoured to overcome the opposition of those who were adverse to the entrance of British Columbia into the scheme of Confederation. Those who composed the population of that Province at that time might be divided into three classes:—The Canadian section, who were very large, and devoted to their flag and their country, and who felt that it was of the first importance, if the Dominion was ever to be a success, that British Columbia should become a portion of the Confederation at as early a moment as possible. The Hudson Bay Company—a wealthy, powerful corporation, possessing all the influence acquired by many years of control in that country, and who from Conservative notions were opposed to Confederation, as they wished to hold the colony for as long a period as possible as a fur preserve. They were active opponents of the scheme of Confederation. Then there were the officials who received their appointments from Down-

ing Street, who fought tooth and nail against the acquisition of that territory by the Dominion of Canada: and those who worked with the sole object of Confederation in view, and, in order to soften the opposition, and malevolence of their opponents, found it necessary to discuss the matter on a financial basis, and prove that British Columbia would be financially benefitted by entering the Confederation. Among the strongest reasons urged in favour of their giving their assent to the incorporation of that Province with the Dominion, was, that a railroad would be built across the Continent; that it had been promised when Nova Scotia and New Brunswick entered the Confederation, and if the people of British Columbia wished to make the Dominion a harmonious whole, the railway should terminate on the Pacific. Amongst the strongest reasons which prompted other loyal Canadians, as well as himself—and no man surpassed him in loyalty to the national flag—was, that emissaries from the United States had come amongst them, and were pressing them to annex with the Republic. One of these gentlemen, while at Victoria, said the policy of the United States in purchasing Alaska was to consummate the absorption of British Columbia by the Republic. This hastened the actions of those who were working in favour of Confederation. A delegation came to Ottawa, and the conditions upon which that Province would become a part of the Dominion were laid before the Government. These conditions were then submitted to a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of Sir George Cartier, Sir Francis Hincks, and Hon. Mr. Tilley, on the part of the Canadian Government, and the three delegates—the present Governor of British Columbia, Dr. Helmcken, and himself (Mr. Carrall). At that time Sir John Macdonald was at the point of death, and he was not responsible personally for the terms, although his Cabinet were responsible to the world for them. They discussed all these questions carefully and frankly as any gentleman would under such important circumstances. The construction of a graving dock was one of the conditions submitted, and the Canadian Government were asked to give a guarantee of five per cent. on £100,000 sterling in ten years for the purpose. It was thought by some of the British Columbians that the Canadian tariff being higher than the Columbian tariff, they might get permission to allow the Colum-

bian tariff to remain in force for a period of ten years, unless the Legislature of that Province thought differently. To make the conditions more harmonious, they agreed upon ten years as the limit for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. He had stated on a previous occasion in this Chamber, and he desired to repeat it now, as one of the delegates who were present on that occasion, that *that ten years was not put into the terms of Union as an absolute limit for the construction of the railway*, but it was put there as a *bona fides* that the Government would commence the road, and carry it on to completion as quickly as could be without injury to the interests of the country. He appealed to the reporter to take down his words correctly as he stood up in justification of the course pursued by the late Government on this question. Then as to the commencement of the construction of the road, he had thought the time was rather short, but they thought they knew more about the country than subsequent events proved they did know. The late Government had been reviled and charged with jeopardizing the future of the Dominion by giving such ruinous terms, and they were accused of breach of faith. He appealed to hon. gentlemen in vindication of the late Government if they had not done all they could to keep faith with British Columbia, when they had their surveyors at work in that Province before it was a part and parcel of the Confederation. The news brought back by the telegraph to British Columbia produced a reaction in favour of Confederation. Geographically speaking, the Dominion, in the accession of that Province, obtained a seaboard in the West, without which we could in no sense compete with a nation like the United States; and in the Confederation of British Columbia with the Dominion the late Government achieved a victory in the interests of the Dominion as important as that which Wolfe achieved at Quebec. The railway itself was looked upon as a great national undertaking—a national necessity; and the British Columbians understood that it was actually, prospectively, and impliedly to be constructed to the base of the Rocky Mountains, whether British Columbia came into the Confederation or not. What would have been the position of the great West to-day had there been a railway continued in there long ago? If Lord Selkirk, who started a settlement there many years since, had gone with the same energy to

any of the countries on the seaboard, like California, Cape Town, or Australia, where they would have the facilities of railway or water transportation, he ventured to say the settlement to-day would have been a populous and thriving colony. Then came a distressing period in the history of the Dominion—the failure of the Allan scheme to build the railway. He would not challenge the sympathy of hon. gentlemen in this room in response to that, but he would express his own individual opinion, when he said he looked upon the failure of the Allan scheme as a national calamity. It was a prelude to the fall of Sir John Macdonald's Government. That Government, whatever their policy, were, with respect to their tariff or their foreign policy, straightforward to British Columbia. The new Government came into power, and the first steps they took—he desired to speak more kindly of them than his duty to his Province would permit—was to concoct the Edgar mission. He had no doubt that all hon. gentlemen were conversant with the details of that mission; but as their minds had been occupied with so many subjects since then, he desired to make an allusion to it. It was well understood by the people of British Columbia that they were not to insist that the railway was to be completed in ten years; but the Government wished to make a point out of it, and hence the Edgar mission was undertaken to enable the Ministry to go to the people of Ontario and say:—“We have gone to British Columbia, and we have relieved the country of the terms imposed on them by the late Government; we have made better terms with British Columbia, and saved the Dominion.” They sent Mr. Edgar over, uncredentialed, to negotiate with the Provincial Government; but when he was asked to show his authority he refused to do so. When the question was asked the Premier if he knew Mr. Edgar did not present his credentials, the Premier's reply, as given in the House of Commons, was—“I became aware of it a week ago.” He coquetted with Columbians to endeavour to make them believe in the honesty and earnestness of purpose of the present Government, and beguile them into making some proposition which could be used in the interests of the Reform party. These negotiations were not carried on with much grace or propriety on either side, and the Premier of the Dominion exhibited a great deal of petulance and irritation, and broke off all negotiations by abruptly recalling his

ambassador. That ended the Edgar mission. Then, of course, the people who had discovered that he had come there simply to spy out the country, and without power to enter into any negotiations, felt considerable resentment at the Government and the people of Canada. They saw fit, in their local legislative wisdom, to come to Ottawa for orders, and the Provincial Premier came as a delegate to negotiate with the Premier here, but without resulting in a settlement satisfactory to either party outside of the original contract. The British North American Act provides, that on the admission of a Province into the Dominion it should be on the joint address of the two contracting parties—the Imperial Government, and, as it were, stands god-mother for the good faith of the Acts of the Dominion towards the smaller Province. So British Columbia naturally referred the matter in dispute to the Imperial Government, which resulted in what is known as the “Carnarvon compromise.” The original terms of the union in respect to the railway clause, the one more, particularly under discussion, says:—

“The Government of the Dominion undertake to procure the commencement within two years from the date of the union of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as, may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains towards the Pacific, to connect the sea-board of British Columbia, and further to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of union.”

The matter was referred to Lord Carnarvon by the consent of both parties, and he thought his Lordship volunteered and was accepted as arbitrator. In this second clause of his despatch Lord Carnarvon took the ground that the work had *not been proceeded with* in accordance with the terms agreed to at the time of union. The despatch read:

“That the Dominion Government should GREATLY INCREASE the strength of the surveying parties on the mainland, and that they should undertake to expend on the surveys, if necessary for the speedy completion of the work, if not an equal share to that which they would expend on the railway itself if it were in actual course of construction, at all events some considerable definite minimum amount.”

The effect of Lord Carnarvon's compromise was, that the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway should be built, whether or not it should become part and parcel of the trans-continental road. Among other things, the instrument provided that not less than \$2,000,000 annually should be expended in British Columbia

towards the construction of the Pacific Railway. It was understood that this arrangement was generally satisfactory to the people of Canada as it was to the people of the Province. He was reminded of the burning eloquence of the Minister of Justice on this question, who, in a moment of anger, voted against the Bill. The British Columbians paid the penalty of his anger, and had suffered from it on many other occasions; but the dissatisfaction which permeated the chambers of that hon. gentleman's mind also spread to this House, and the Bill was defeated by a majority of two followers of the hon. gentlemen opposite. Every one in the Province was confident the Carnarvon compromise would be carried out, but the next thing they got was the Minute of Council of the 20th of September. That minute, after its passage, was detained seven weeks before being sent to British Columbia. The contents of that document were rather remarkable, and an idea of their nature could best be gathered from the following extract:—

"It would seem reasonable that the people of British Columbia should construct this work themselves, or (if they think other local public works more advantageous) should, in lieu of this, themselves undertake such other local public works, and that the compensation to be given them by Canada for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway should be in the form of cash bonus, to be applied towards the local railway, or such other local works as the Legislature of British Columbia may undertake, Canada also surrendering any claim to lands which may have been reserved in Vancouver Island for railway purposes."

When that minute arrived in the Province it received the attention of the best minds among them, but no one could tell what it meant. The only conclusion that could be arrived at was, that the sum of \$750,000 was offered for the relinquishment of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. Had the document been less ambiguous and more frank, their ordinary intellects might have grasped its contents, and probably have seen something else in it. Complaint had been made as to the language of the rejoinder, but there was no desire to wound anybody, and it was at least as respectful in tenor as the minute which the Dominion Government sent in reply. The *Globe* at first took the view that the \$750,000 was for compensation for the abandonment of the scheme; but a few days subsequently it gave a different interpretation, which showed the great diffidence even the friends of the Government had in gauging its exact purport. The stand taken by

Ministers was, that there was no money to devote to the work. What had become of the Cartwright loan, on the guarantee that Sir John Macdonald got from the British Government with respect to the Washington Treaty? The money had to be expended for railways.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—And canals.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—The Canadian Pacific Railway. He would venture to show it. The minute from this great Dominion of Canada to a small province had the following passage, which was sufficient to irritate any people, and would justify any disrespectful remarks (if there were any) in the rejoinder:—

"The Committee cannot but observe that the spirit which, ignoring the general welfare and the importance to the whole of Canada of avoiding disaster from a premature commencement and a reckless prosecution of the Pacific Railway, presses so urgently for an enormous expenditure with a view to reap vast profits for the small population amongst which it is to be made, is hardly calculated to induce the people of Canada to second the Administration to redeem as far as they can the appalling obligations to which, by the terms of union, the country was committed. The Committee remark with regret that the Assembly of British Columbia should have expressed their entire agreement with the views and statements set forth in the minute of the Executive Council of that Province, dated January 4th, 1876, which, besides some allegations and arguments substantially repeated in the address, contains, with reference to the transmission of the minute of Council of September 20th last, imputations upon the honour and good faith of the Canadian Government so gross that they must decline to discuss it."

He could not regard the intention of the minute otherwise than *unintentional*, and that the present British Columbia Government had made a *grave* and perhaps *unpardonable* error in this matter. They should have acted candidly and fairly, and if unable to arrive at a more satisfactory conclusion, should have fallen back upon the reserve supply of medication in Downing Street. This policy had had a damaging effect upon British Columbia in more ways than one: it had prevented a great deal of settlement as well as the development of the coal mines. The public utterances of statesmen had also been of a character calculated to irritate the people of the province and discourage loyalty. Men of gigantic, herculean intellect, like the Minister of Justice, who should teach the people to practise forbearance or Christian charity, had used language on a public platform at Aurora unbecoming to any statesman or public man. He said:—

"If under all these circumstances the Columbians were to say 'You must go on and finish

this railway according to the terms or take the alternative of releasing us from the Confederation,' I would take the alternative.

Such an expression with reference to a small province, having but a nine voiced speaking power in Parliament was unmanly."

Hon. Mr. SCOTT. He was not a member of the Cabinet then; he was responsible to no one but himself for his language.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said he quoted this as an illustration of the utterances of public men on this question. The speech continued:—

"I believe that is the view of the people of this country, and it may as well be plainly stated, because such a plain statement is the very thing which will prevent British Columbians from making such extravagant demands. If these 2,000 men understand that the people of Canada are prepared, in preference to compliance with their various demands, to let them go, and to have them build the Columbian section with their 10,000 people, their tone shall be more moderate, and we shall hear no more talk about secession. The principal person who has spoken hitherto is Sir John Macdonald, who almost invited it in his election speech during the late contest. They won't secede; they know better. Should they leave the Confederation, the Confederation would survive and they would lose their money. (Laughter.) With regard to the sections of the railway which involve the communication between our eastern seaboard and our great Northwest, the utmost diligence is being used to put them under contract."

In the same speech the hon. gentleman went on to speak contemptuously of the resources of British Columbia. Now, he professed a much more comprehensive knowledge of the country than the Minister of Justice, and he could state that it was wealthy and rich in everything which formed the elements of a great nation. It was prosperous too. Its exports of gold amounted to \$3,000,000, and its coal exportations were vastly on the increase. Its revenue this year would amount to \$600,000. The Province came into the union with a debt of \$1,100,000, and at that time, under its own tariff, had a revenue of \$500,000 a year, which would pay off the debt in about two years. The Minister of Justice spoke of the paucity of their numbers and the largeness of their representation. He wished they had a larger representation; but they had as good a right here as the members for Ontario and Quebec; and he defied the hon. gentleman to point to six constituencies, excepting the larger cities, which had more than \$600,000 revenue.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST thought the hon. gentleman was mistaken as to the revenue. The revenue for 1874 was \$450,000.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said he spoke of the revenue of the present year. The

collector told a friend of his that it was \$500,000 up to November, and that he confidently expected it would touch \$600,000. There was a great deal of irritation in the Province owing to the attitude of the Government and of public men. The railway was promised them, and rails were purchased in England and sent out with a great flourish of trumpets, and it was no wonder they should feel sore at the present condition of affairs. Americans laughed derisively when they saw the piles of steel rails along the coast and the significant fact they suggested, and every one having the interests of British Columbia at heart, was greatly dissatisfied. It was unfortunate that all this should come of the settlement of the feud between two Cabinet Ministers. The confidence of the British Columbians was not only shaken in the Government by their unfriendly, or no policy, but in the whole Canadian people. He desired to say that he, for one, had every confidence in the Canadian people. It had been his lot in the last two or three years to traverse vast portions of the Dominion; he had been in all the Provinces but two, and had mixed in various grades of society, and he found among the ranks of the gentlemen who supported the Ministry, as well as among the Conservative party, the prevailing idea to be that the railroad should be constructed. He did not propose to talk secession, for there was not in the world could drive his Province from the Union as long as he could prevent it, for it was the dream of his life to see the Confederation of the Provinces consummated; and he appealed to the House to force the Ministry to do what was right in the premises. In Lord Carnarvon's compromise document, he said in clause 17:—

"I have now only to repeat the strong desire which I feel to be of service in a matter, the settlement of which may be either simple or difficult according to the spirit in which it is approached; a question directly bearing upon the terms of Union may, if both parties to it will waive some portion of their own views and opinions, be well entrusted to the Imperial authority which presided over that union, and not improperly, perhaps, to the individual minister whose fortune it was to consider and in some degree to shape the details of the original settlement under which the Provinces of British North America were confederated, and British Columbia ultimately brought into connection with them. If indeed the expression of a personal feeling may, in such a case as this, be indulged in, I may perhaps be allowed to say how sincerely I prize the recollection of the share which I was then permitted to have in that great work, how deeply I should grieve to see any disagreement or difference impair the harmony which has been so conspicuously maintained by the wisdom and good feeling of all parties, and how entirely your Lordship

and your Ministers may count upon my best efforts in furtherance of every measure that can contribute to the strength and honour of the Dominion of Canada."

In the same connection he desired to say that although he bore so humble a part in the construction and completion—and he hoped to bear a conspicuous part in the consolidation of the Dominion of Canada—it was to him one of the sweetest and dearest memories of his life, and there was nothing he possessed he valued so much as a copy of the silver medal struck in honour of Confederation; therefore it would ill become him because of these difficulties to talk of secession, or to attempt to destroy one particle of what he considered as partly his own handiwork. In looking over the papers this morning he desired to show what a change had come over the dream of the great Liberal party, and how these changes were premonitory of coming dissolution. Look at the great Reform party of Great Britain, with Gladstone at their head. They came in with a powerful following, but in a very short time it was shattered to the winds by one or two false steps. He would quote from the organ of the Government, the *Toronto Globe*, of February 13th, 1874, to show that a change had occurred:—

"No Government that could be found will carry on the work of construction more efficiently and speedily than will that of Mr. Mackenzie. It was the Reform Party that first advocated the annexation of the Northwest Territory, including British Columbia. It is among Reformers are found the most enthusiastic supporters of the Pacific Railway. And it is by a Reform Government that the work must be carried to final completion. It is not the people of British Columbia therefore that have cause to regret the advent of Reformers to power."

He felt that this debate which he had the honour to open would give rise to many discussions, but he hoped it would not be to any more complications. He thought, by a little more forbearance in Parliament by Dominion statesmen, a better understanding would be arrived at, and there would be a more satisfactory solution of the difficulty; but while language like that used by the Premier, who told them that they only wanted money expended in their Province—while language of that kind is used in official documents and Minutes of Council, it was not reasonable to expect that British Columbia would bear meekly and with resignation treatment of that kind, together with broken faith and taunts. They had been told they had no right to representation in that House, that they represented nobody but Indians. They

were leeches, Pariahs, blood-suckers, the calf that was sucking the Ontario cow, etc. He did not charge the Government with using such language, but it was used by their press and by their supporters. All these things were not pleasing for them to hear; it was not the way to bring order out of the chaos into which the vicious policy of the Government had plunged them. He admitted that the position of the Government was an onerous one. They were new to office and new to ministerial responsibilities. He could quite understand that this strain on their mental powers was enormous, but he believed that a more large hearted, a more comprehensive, whole-souled policy towards British Columbia would be more politic. The late Government did certainly desire to show them a good feeling, but the present Government was constantly taunting them with costing \$1,200,000 since their admission to the Dominion more than they returned. Was that worthy of Ministers holding office and representing the people? He thought not, and if a better understanding was not arrived at, he, for one, proposed to raise his voice, cast his vote, and try to keep his people content, and if the Government did not do what was right they would do their best to put them out and get men in who would do them justice. Then, in the language of scripture, the Province which Mackenzie rejected would become the first Province of the Dominion. (Laughter.)

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL—In approaching this matter the hon. House must excuse me if I do so from a British Columbia point of view, and try to express my sense of the bad treatment which British Columbia has sustained with reference to the carrying out of the terms of union. I complain that she has been badly treated, not so much by Canada itself, or its people as a whole, but rather by the extraordinary behaviour of the present Government since it assumed power some two or three years since. I do not wish to conceal from myself the fact that in 1871, when the terms of union on which British Columbia was allowed to enter the Dominion were under discussion in the Houses of Parliament here, that several of the principal members of the Government now in power expressed themselves as strongly opposed to such parts of the terms as related to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I can well understand how, on their accession to office, shortly after, they should have still look-

ed with disfavour on those particular parts, and on the arrangement which had been come to. But, hon. gentlemen, it appears to me that had they risen to the exigency of the moment; had they been in any way capable of appreciating the importance of the matter, and of taking hold of it in a straightforward, honest, and statesmanlike way, that then none of the disgraceful and much to be deplored complications which have arisen between British Columbia and the rest of the Dominion would now have stood in the way of the cordial relations which we should wish to see in existence between the whole of the different Provinces of the Dominion. I may as well now revert for a few moments to the consideration of the circumstances by which British Columbia was brought into Confederation with the other Provinces. I can safely say that it was through no spontaneous or innate wish of her own. The matter was at first initiated, talked of, and promulgated by a few native born and loyal Canadians who had made British Columbia their home, but with very little effect, for the space of two or three years, till at last the matter of the Confederation of the North American Colonies having become one of Imperial policy, a Governor was sent out from England to British Columbia, instructed to do all in his power to bring about what appeared a desirable end. His Excellency exercised his power and made use of the means that lay within his reach, and Confederation was speedily effected on the terms which we all know. In British Columbia, however, while the necessary negotiations and preliminaries were being carried on there were not a few persons who, professing to be well acquainted with Canada and Canadian characteristics, did not scruple to assert, and to warn British Columbians that Canada could not be trusted to carry out her engagements; but, hon. gentlemen, at that time British Columbia was a Crown colony, inhabited principally by Englishmen, men who, honest and straightforward themselves, and accustomed to honesty in grave matters of state in their native land, could not bring themselves to believe that Canadians, of originally the same birth and instincts as themselves, the present inhabitants of a country which was beginning to hold up her head among the nations of the world, to boast of her 4,000,000 of inhabitants, of her natural wealth and resources, and of greatly increasing prosperity, could, under any cir-

cumstances, fall so low in their own estimation, and be so utterly regardless of what was right and just, as to dream for one moment of cancelling or breaking the arrangements which might be made with British Columbia. The prophetic warnings, thus given, have, however, to my regret, and I believe to the regret of the majority of this House, turned out only too true, and British Columbia has not only been for the present deprived of the only advantages she could naturally expect to reap from Confederation, but she has, through no fault of her own, fallen somewhat into disrepute, and is more or less looked upon as a nuisance and an incumbrance. The reason for all this is the more deplorable, and I will add the more contemptible, when one plainly sees that it is brought about altogether by the working of party motives. The late Government, a Government which I am proud to say was a Government fit to be at the head of affairs of a country prospering as Canada was under its rule, brought before Parliament a bill admirably suited to bring about the end which they sought, i. e. the building of the Pacific Railway. It is now a matter of history how that scheme eminently practical as it was, and eminently suited to the character of the work sought to be carried out, was frustrated through the weight of disgraceful party opposition which was brought to bear against it, and how the Government itself was brought low on matters connected with it. Suffice it to say that to me the course pursued by the party now in power at that time was the most glaring example of the prostitution of national expediency for the sake of place that it was ever my lot to know. It was a disgrace, hon. gentlemen, not only to themselves, but a disgrace to the whole country, and a disgrace which it will take many years to live down. The matter would not, however, have been so disastrous in its consequences had the present Government been equal to the task of replacing the old one and carrying on the works to which the country was pledged. Had they shown the slightest inclination to, or aptitude for, or even a due conception of the importance of the work that lay before them we should not perhaps now have so much reason to complain; but their conduct from the first has been so weak, so vacillating and inconsistent, that every one has lost all belief in their sincerity and all confidence in their operations. How can people for instance, reconcile their expressions of good inten-

tions with the fact that some of the most prominent members of the Government are, and always have been, sworn opponents of the carrying out of the terms of Union with British Columbia? How can they believe in the sincerity of a Government which would not hold out a hand to save one of their own Bills, that of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, which was lost last year in this House by so narrow a majority? And while I am on this subject I wish to refer to some remarks on this matter which fell from the hon. the Secretary of State, a few days since in this House when a discussion was going on about the steel rails: The hon. gentleman explained that the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was brought down last year by the Government to enable them to carry out certain arrangements into which they had entered with the Government of British Columbia, under the auspices of, and through the intervention of Lord Carnarvon; and the hon. gentleman proceeded to express his surprise that under these circumstances the Senate should have thought it right to defeat the passage of the Bill. So far, hon. gentlemen, I agree with the hon. Secretary of State, and I may be allowed to express my surprise that the Senate thought fit to adopt the course they did; but I will go further and express my most unqualified surprise that any member of the Government should rise in his place and assert that the Government did all in their power to secure the passage of that Bill. Why, hon. gentlemen, what were the facts of the case, were they not patent to all? The hon. member himself introduced the Bill in a very short, and I will add, a very lame speech, and having so done, the unfortunate Bill was left to take care of itself, to live or die on its own merits, while no member of the Government or any supporter of the Government had another word to say in its favour! And what did we see, hon. gentlemen, when the vote was taken upon the Bill? Why, we saw two prominent supporters of the Government, hon. gentlemen who are unswerving and unwavering supporters of the Government on all occasions—hon. members who never before or after, either during this or the past session of Parliament, have voted in an adverse way on any Bill or motion in which the Government expressed an interest, we saw those two hon. members rise in their places and vote against the Bill! Now, hon. gentlemen, how can we reconcile that fact with

the idea that the Government did what they could in favour of the Bill? If the Government had held out its little finger in support of the Bill, if they had merely whispered to them the necessity there was of supporting the Bill, can we for a moment suppose that it would have met with the fate which it did? And again, if the Government were earnest in their wish to pass that Bill through Parliament, why was it so readily dropped after its being defeated in this House by so narrow a majority? Why should not the Government have brought it up this year, and came forward and said—This Bill must pass; it is to enable us to carry out a certain engagement into which we have entered, and we bring it before you again, and you shall pass it, or if you will not, we fall with it. I do not say that that is a likely course to be adopted by the Government of the day, but I say that such is the course which they should have pursued had they wished to persuade us of their integrity and good faith. Then, again, to proceed a little further, what shall we say of a Government which could give to the light such a document as that precious Minute of Council of September 20th, 1875. I can only describe that document as one more worthy of emanation from the office of some low attorney than from the office of the grave Council of State, for it was a document so purposely obscure and untranslatable, and so capable of different constructions being put upon it, that even one of the principal supporters of the Government among the press of the country, the great *Globe* newspaper of Toronto, gave it one explanation one morning, and the next was obliged to eat its own words, and say that it meant exactly the opposite! Then, to come nearer the present time, let me mention the very last Minute of Council which has seen the light, that of the 13th of this month. I do not know whether all hon. members have seen that Minute, or whether, at all events, they have read it with attention, but I can only characterize it as a document remarkable for the wordy special pleading contained in it—not the grave, conciliatory and kindly Minute which one would expect to find addressed by the supreme power of the State to one of its component parts, to a Province under its own care, but rather the work of a lawyer trying to make the most of a bad case, of an advocate fighting a matter to the bitter end with his opponent, and this document at its end, throwing to the winds all argument and

all obligations, says in effect: "All that remains for the Dominion to do is to carry out the terms of Union with British Columbia in the way that will best suit her, and at the time which will best suit her." That, hon. gentlemen, is the last straw in the weight which will break the camel's back. Such expressions must raise the ire of British Columbians from one end of the Province to the other, and may lead to consequences which are difficult to foresee, and which no one would regret more than myself. I now wish to say a few words in behalf of British Columbia. I think every one must see that British Columbia has been badly treated. I know that she thinks so herself, but what has annoyed her more than anything else is that Canada and her rulers during the past three years have been unremittently engaged in the occupation of throwing difficulties and delays in the way of carrying out the terms of Union. Whenever and by whomsoever the matter is discussed, it has always been with the view of finding reasons why the work should not go on. Always, instead of avowing an intention of doing the best under the circumstances, the Canadian Government, press and people, with but few exceptions, have been searching for reasons how not to do that to which they are solemnly bound; and it is that and that alone which has exasperated the people of the Western Province. If Canada had always shown the inclination to do the best she could, to go heart and soul into the work before her, and to persevere to the end, there would never have been any discontent on the part of British Columbia; but, on the contrary, she would have been ready to meet the Dominion half way, and resign for the present her own good for the general advantage of the country. Is it a wonder, hon. gentlemen, that, under such circumstances as I have described, British Columbia should feel sore and disgusted? Is it a wonder that those feelings should find expression, and that there are even not a few who dare whisper the word "secession?" But, I for one, never think that the matter will come to such a pass as that last word suggests. I believe that ere long Canada will awake to the exigency of the moment, that the people will rise in their strength, and, at no distant time, will, with one supreme effort, throw from them the incubus which now weighs down and oppresses them in the shape of the present Ministry, and that they will then take the matter into their hands, and see that the terms of Union with British Columbia are carried out.

Can one fail to think but that every Canadian is proud of the grand country which he calls his own, of a country stretching from the Atlantic on one side to the Pacific on the other, across the wide expanse of this magnificent continent? And can one believe any Canadian so mean and contemptible as not to strain every endeavour to preserve the inviolability of that fair domain, and of the inheritance which he hopes to bequeath to his children?

Hon. Mr. READ said he took a somewhat different view of this question. He thought the Government were keeping faith to the best of their ability with British Columbia, and were endeavouring to fulfil every promise made at the time of Confederation. Mr. Fleming's last report was to the effect that every effort was being made to "discover a practical route for the railway in order that the terms of the Union with British Columbia might be carried out." He contended that the very first thing to be done was to have an exhaustive survey of the country, because if they made a false step in the location of the road it must cost millions of dollars; so if there was a little delay from this cause there was no reason for British Columbia to believe that faith was not to be kept with her. We did not agree with the resolution of the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON said it would scarcely be expected considering his connection with this railway a few years ago, that he should not have a few words to say on the resolution now before the House. If the hon. gentleman behind him was correct in his argument, the Government might have told the British Columbians that the survey was not completed; that until it was completed the railway could not be proceeded with. That might have been a good answer; it would have been a good plea for reasonable delay: but instead of that the Government said nothing about the survey, but proposed to expend a large amount of money in building a railway which would be of little use, and which would not have formed a part of the Canada Pacific Railway. He thought that it was quite evident that the Government was not waiting for surveys, but that they desired to wait for a very long time before proceeding with the main work. When the arrangement proposed by the late Government of constructing the railway through the agency of a company fell through, he became favourable to the work being undertaken by the Government through the Public Works Department, or under Commissioners. The

chief reason why he considered it in the best interests of the Dominion to construct it as a public work, was the apprehension he entertained that if a large area of a country fell into the hands of a company there would be danger of the control falling into the hands of unfriendly rivals, and the settlement of the country might be either postponed in favour of the neighbouring Republic, or might be carried on injuriously to this Dominion. Entertaining that view, he submitted a number of resolutions to this House about two years ago, in April, 1873, and he thought that in these resolutions was suggested a scheme which might have been adopted with advantage by the Government. He thought that it would be admitted to day that if the Government had acted upon it when they succeeded to office; if they had adopted the plan suggested here, it would have been satisfactory to the whole Dominion, and entirely satisfactory to British Columbia. It might have been accomplished without a large expenditure; without anything like the expenditure that they afterwards proposed to make on works of little or no utility. On that occasion he had moved to resolve that with a view to the early commencement of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and in order to keep faith with British Columbia, and to carry out the conditions agreed upon at the union of that Province with Canada, and to ensure the certain and early uniting together by railway of all the Provinces of the Dominion, the Government should forthwith determine the terminal points of the line on the Pacific coast, and east of the Rocky Mountains, and should at once commence and proceed with the construction of the railway through the Department of Public Works, or by a board of competent commissioners appointed for that purpose. That simultaneously with commencing the construction of the railway, steps should be taken by the Government to obtain a thorough, accurate exploration and complete survey of the whole line between the terminal points on the Pacific coast and the south side of Lake Nipissing, to ascertain the features and physical formation of the country, to determine the alignment and grades of the railway, and to procure a close estimate of the cost for the information of Parliament and of the country. A large amount had been expended, and a larger amount was offered to be expended in what would have been productive of little or no good result. He was one of those who voted against the measure of last session for the

construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. His reason for doing so was, he believed, in the first place, that the expenditure would have been utterly unproductive; that the proposed railway would not be a work of any utility; that the offer was really to bribe British Columbia into consenting to an indefinite postponement of the Pacific Railway. He believed also that the arrangement would not have effected a settlement of the question, because while British Columbians were willing to accept it for a time, they would not have been satisfied for long, and would have demanded the construction of the Pacific Railway in fulfilment of the conditions of Union. His hon. friend (Mr. Carrall) was candid enough to tell them so on the floor of this House. It was simply the expenditure of money that was offered to conciliate the British Columbians, without being of any national service. And that policy was continued; for after the bill authorizing the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was lost in this House, and some other means had to be devised to satisfy for a time the people of British Columbia—a small sum comparatively, but a large sum considering it was really a sop—three quarters of a million was offered to them for an indefinite postponement of the Pacific Railway. Now, he would have opposed the grant of \$750,000 this year, if it had been brought up, as an improvident grant. He believed the people of this Dominion, from one end to the other, desired the construction of our great national railway—not in an extravagant manner; not before the means of the country would permit of its being constructed without inconvenience to the exchequer; not faster than the settlement of the country required; but as fast as the interests of the Dominion demanded. He believed a great majority of the people desired to see the Pacific Railway carried out. He would only say a few words with respect to the negotiations carried on with British Columbia. He did not think they had been conducted in a spirit worthy of this Dominion. The bargaining with British Columbia had not been carried on in a spirit worthy of Canada. He confessed he read the last Order in Council with a great deal of regret and with some pain; for it was not conceived in that tone of national dignity and loftiness which should characterize the State papers of this country. If the Government, instead of occupying a great deal of time in paltry negotiations, had commenced the Railway and made a moderate expenditure as evidence of their good faith and their desire to carry out what

had been agreed to, they would have satisfied British Columbia. Her representatives in Parliament here all expressed that as the opinion of their Province. He saw nothing from any of her authorities that would lead him to a different conclusion. He hoped that even now the Government would change their policy; would act in a different spirit, and do what was reasonable with British Columbia, and for the advantage of the Dominion, instead of continuing to keep British Columbia dissatisfied with her connection with the rest of Canada, and probably engendering feelings of unfriendliness and estrangement which would be difficult to remove.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST suggested that the debate should be adjourned.

Hon. Mr. MACDONALD moved the adjournment of the debate until tomorrow, which was carried.

March 23, 1876.

Hon. Mr. McDONALD resumed the debate on Hon. Mr. Carrall's motion to resolve:—That the construction of the Pacific Railway having formed the principal condition upon which British Columbia entered the Canadian Confederation, every reasonable effort should have been made by the Government of the Dominion to satisfy the people of that Province that faith would be kept with them; but this House regrets to find, that whilst incurring, or ready to incur immediately, expenditures of several millions of dollars not needed or of doubtful utility, the Government has failed to proceed vigorously with the construction of our great national Inter-oceanic Railway, which is so essential to the material advancement of all the Provinces of the Dominion as well as to the early consolidation of political and social union among the whole people.—He said:—The position of affairs between the Dominion Government and British Columbia has arrived at a point when an expression of opinion of this House may not be out of place, whether as a guidance in the future to the Dominion Government or to our Province. In my opinion, the chief object in bringing forward this subject now is, that public opinion should be indicated, so far as an expression of this House can be taken as such indication, of a desire to have this great national highway perfected. And whether this House follows or leads public opinion, the result of this debate will be looked upon with interest in our Province. The idea of establishing communication

from ocean to ocean is not new, but to British Columbia remains the honour, if it be an honour, of being the immediate cause of pressing upon the attention of the country the necessity for this transcontinental railway; hence her deep interest in this subject; and whether the verdict be for or against maintaining the connection with our Province, the debate will be of equal importance. The hon. gentleman who moved the resolution now before the House reviewed clearly the terms upon which British Columbia came into the Canadian Confederation, and I do not intend going over the same ground again, but may briefly refer to some of the points. I will endeavour to state the case from my stand-point as clearly as I can. The first breach in the terms of union was made in July, 1873, by the failure to commence construction at that time, and to this the Provincial Government, as in duty bound, called the attention of the Dominion Government; and from that time until now they have continued to protest against the non-fulfilment of the terms of union. Whether this breach can be justified or not, the fact cannot be controverted. The Premier of the Dominion, in a speech at Lambton in January, 1874, alluded to the great difficulties of building the Pacific Railway, and said that a relaxation of the terms with Columbia must be had. This speech became known in the Province at a time when a combination of circumstances gave rise to some alarm and apprehension: The Provincial Government at that time wanted money, and were negotiating for a loan with the Dominion; and the fear that the true interests of the Province might be sacrificed, and the terms of union destroyed, caused the first political disturbance which ever took place in the Province. To us the terms of union are everything—our capital, stock in trade, and constitution—and if once broken through we have nothing on which to rely. Shortly after this commotion Mr. Edgar was sent to the Province, as agent of the Dominion Government, to ascertain the feelings and opinions of the people on public questions, particularly on the Pacific Railway. After some time Mr. Edgar made a proposal to the Local Government to the following effect:—"To commence construction from Esquimalt to Nanaimo immediately, and to push that portion of the railway on to completion with the utmost vigor and in the shortest practicable time. Hon. gentlemen will observe that this was not offered as compensation, or as a branch line, but as a portion of the railway; and as a portion must be a part of the whole, this must

have been considered as a part of the main line.

"The Government would immediately open up a road and build a telegraph line along the whole length of the railway in the Province, and carry telegraph wire across the continent. To a country like British Columbia it is conceded, however, to be an important point, that not only the prompt and vigorous commencement, but also the continuous prosecution of the work of construction within the limits of the Province should be guaranteed. In order, therefore, to secure an absolute certainty in this direction, the Dominion Government are disposed to concede to British Columbia, that the moment the surveys and road on the main land can be completed, there shall be in each and every year, and even under the most unfavourable circumstances, during the construction of the railway, a minimum expenditure upon works of construction within the Province of at least one million five hundred thousand dollars." I wish hon. gentlemen to observe that this offer was made without reference to the "predicates" of 1871, 1872, and 1874, that taxation should not be increased for the building of the Pacific Railway. These negotiations of Mr. Edgar proved a failure, and I have always maintained that the Local Government acted injudiciously in not treating with the Dominion agent in a fair spirit, and telling him at least what they wanted. The Provincial Government then petitioned Her Majesty, setting forth their grievances, and praying that the Dominion Government might be urged to carry out the terms of union. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, on receiving the petition, and the answer of the Dominion Government thereto, expressed his pleasure at the conciliatory manner in which both parties had approached the subject, but I am afraid that the recent Minutes of Council of both Governments will not produce the same good impression. The Secretary of State then proposed a certain arrangement in settlement of the questions in dispute, which he considered would not press heavily on the Dominion, and would be fair to Columbia. His Lordship's recommendations are the same as the Edgar proposals, excepting as to yearly expenditure, which was to be two millions instead of one and a half millions. His Lordship remarks that even Columbia will receive considerably less than was promised to her as the condition of entering the Dominion. The Dominion Government after some further correspondence accepted the settlement of the Secretary of State by Minute of Council

dated 18th December, 1874, and as an evidence of such acceptance, brought a bill into Parliament last session to give effect to a part of the settlement; the fate of that bill we all know—and we know that British Columbia was at that time sacrificed to party spirit. Every hon. gentleman in this Chamber no doubt thinks (and would feel indignant at being told otherwise) that the legislation of this country is founded on principles of justice which acknowledge the right to protect the interests of the minority as well as of the majority, but in this instance I am sorry to say that an act of injustice was done. The failure of that bill, however, did not cancel the claims of the Province. If there is any virtue in promises and obligations solemnly entered into, whether under Act of Parliament or Minute of Council, they should be adhered to, and not set to one side to the injury of any Province. The Premier, in a speech at Sarnia in October, 1875, announces that serious "modifications of the terms with British Columbia will be necessary, and that fresh proposals were to be made, and that British Columbia deserved every consideration." With the Earl of Carnarvon's bargain unfulfilled, this announcement gave rise to much uneasiness in the Province as foreshadowing future delay and fresh negotiation the Carnarvon recommendations had only been agreed to a short time before, and now they are virtually set aside before any part of them is fulfilled. These fresh proposals were embodied in a Minute of Council dated 20th September 1875, and reached British Columbia the following November. The Local Government imprudently attributed motives for this delay, which I do not endorse; I am willing to believe that the delay was occasioned through the neglect of the official whose duty it was to attend to this matter. The Minute recites the Edgar proposals and the agreement with Earl Carnarvon, and offers a compensation of \$750,000 under such ambiguity, that if otherwise willing to accept the offer, the Local Government could not do so, as it could easily be construed into compensation for indefinite delay upon the whole line, although we are assured by the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government that the offer had reference only to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. Had this Minute contained an assurance that the other portions of the Carnarvon recommendations would be carried out, the dissatisfaction would not have been so great, but there was no such assurance. This offer of compensation was declined

by the Provincial Government. And we do think that the Dominion Government having carried the point of an extension of the time limit, and after having entered into obligations with the full knowledge of their being less onerous than the original terms, we had every reason to believe that they would be adhered to, and cannot understand any attempt being made to ignore those obligations. The Provincial Government appealed to Her Majesty a second time—most unwisely as I think—being, as I am, deeply impressed with the wisdom and advisability of settling our domestic quarrels at home. And I am glad to be able to say that all the Columbia representatives now at Ottawa disapprove of the action of the Local Government in this instance. The tone of the Columbia Minute of Council refusing the offer of \$750,000 is much to be deplored, although it must be borne in mind that it was written under a deep sense of injustice. Even then it is hardly justifiable, and the tone of the Minute of the Dominion Government on the 15th of this month is equally to be deplored. It attempts to reduce this great question to a merely local one. The hon. Minister of Agriculture alluded to the tone of the press in British Columbia. I as well as himself condemn the spirit and tone of a portion of that press, but lately they have been writing under the belief that the Province has been deeply wronged, and on that score there is some excuse. I take it that the hon. gentleman would not like at all times to be held accountable for all that appears in the press of Canada. From speeches made by prominent men, and from newspaper articles in this part of the country, an impression has been gaining ground that there is a feeling in certain circles that British Columbia should be cast adrift. If this feeling has any foundation the sooner we know it the better, and we can part good friends, and this debate will be of some service in confirming or dispelling these impressions. Allegiance and loyalty are based entirely on mutual advantages. The Federal Government and the different branches must each do their part to ensure the harmonious working of the whole. The hon. Minister of Agriculture also alluded to a resolution passed by the House of Commons in 1871, when the delegate from British Columbia was present on the floor of the House. There is nothing to show that he approved or disapproved of that resolution. What power

could he have by being on the floor of the House when he could not open his mouth, and the resolution after all was only a sugar coating to the pill, so that it might go down easily. We say this: that we have just ground of complaint; that these grounds of complaint have been acknowledged from the fact of compensation having been offered us; that there is no desire to burden or overtax the country; that we have agreed to extend the time limit from ten to nineteen years; that we have agreed to take a yearly expenditure much less than we were entitled to; that in 1874 the taxation of the country was increased by three million dollars in order (as stated in the preamble to the Pacific Railway Act of 1874) to make provision for the construction of the Pacific Railway as rapidly as possible; that three millions will pay interest and sinking fund on fifty millions, which is more than necessary with land grants to build the whole line; that in 1874 and 1875 £8,000,000 have been borrowed partly on the Imperial guarantee for the purpose of constructing the Pacific Railway, also for enlarging the canals. The Act authorizing the loan recites the bargain with British Columbia as being the chief reason for borrowing this money; railway construction is made the prominent feature in the preamble, the enlargement of the canals being secondary. That the money raised under the Imperial guarantee cannot legally be applied to any purposes other than the Pacific Railway; that five years have nearly elapsed since British Columbia entered Confederation, and it is only reasonable to expect that the work of construction be commenced forthwith. We have no reports from the Chief Engineer for the last two years, but we find in the report brought down in the session of 1874, which could only embrace information up to the end of 1873, the Chief Engineer makes the following statement:—"It may indeed be now accepted as a certainty that a route has been found generally possessing favourable engineering features, with the exception of a short section approaching the Pacific coast; which route, taking its entire length, including the exceptional section alluded to, will, on the average, show lighter work, and will require less costly structures than have been necessary on many of the railways now in operation in the Dominion." Now, if this much was known two years ago, the information must surely be complete

enough by this time to enable the Government to determine the route without delay. That large sums of money are lying idle in different banks, and a large quantity of rails on hand, and that a great deal of work could be carried on for two or three years without much additional outlay. That the Minute of Council of the 20th September last has destroyed confidence and caused much dissatisfaction in the Province as ignoring the settlement of Earl Carnarvon—I think I may use that term—there being no assurance of its fulfilment; that the Minute of the 15th March last tends in the same direction. I will briefly allude to some portions of it. I find the following:—“There is no pretence for saying that the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was, under the terms of Union, a work, the construction of which was obligatory on Canada, as part of the Pacific Railway.” I say that we had very strong grounds for considering this to be a part of the main line. By a Minute of Council of June, 1873, Esquimalt is declared to be the western terminus of the Pacific Railway. That Mr. Edgar proposed to build this portion of the railway without reference to its being a branch, or as compensation—and that grants of land were reserved for the purposes of this road in accordance with the “terms of union.” The Minute further states:—“The Committee would observe that they cannot assent to the view that the Union with British Columbia has occasioned loss and deprivation to that Province. On the contrary, the results, financially, to the Dominion and to British Columbia respectively, even ignoring all railway expenditure in the Province, show that enormous pecuniary advantages have been derived by Columbia from Canada.” We do not pretend to say that we have suffered any loss from being joined to Canada, but we do say that continual delays and uncertainties have had a most damaging effect on the Province. We are certain of nothing, and never know what may next be offered to us. The Minute further states:—“The Committee must further observe that the tenor of the representations now under consideration would seem to indicate that the object of the Legislature of British Columbia is less to secure the completion of the work as a national undertaking in such a way and on such terms as may best conduce to the welfare of the whole community, than to enforce the immediate and continued expenditure, within their own Province, at whatever cost to Canada, of

many millions of money, for which they cannot pretend to have given an equivalent; and that their chief grievance is that their people have not as yet derived, in addition to the other financial benefits of Union, the gains and profits to be expected from the expenditure of these millions in their midst. To these views must be mainly referred the allegations, unfounded as they appear to the Committee, of disastrous and ruinous delays, and as to all classes of the population having suffered loss and deprivations.” This great work is of as much importance to the whole country as to us; and the portion of this railway east of the Rocky Mountains is guaranteed to us as fully as that within our own Province, and is of equal importance to us. British Columbia has the right to protest against delays over the whole line just as much as in the Province—although our immediate attention has been directed to that within the Province, believing that the interests of the eastern sections would be looked after by the people in this part of Canada. These two lines, “It remains only to endeavour to construct the Pacific Railway as the resources of the country will permit,” wind up this Minute, and dispose in a summary way of the terms of union and the Carnarvon recommendation, and perhaps it is as well that no fresh promises should be made, and whatever we now get will be unexpected. I don’t think it fair to place the statement of the amount appended to the Minute before the country at this time—the expenditure in a new Province being usually larger the first years than afterwards. Everything, I notice, has been brought against us that possibly could—a share of the public debt of the country, and a share of the cost of civil government, and a share of everything else. The outlay on account of the Pacific Railway cannot fairly be charged to our Province. It is a national undertaking, and a large part of this money paid in salaries is carried back to this part of Canada, from which the Province gets no benefit. We never pretend to bring financial advantages to the Dominion, but if treated well I feel assured that we will return as much, if not more, than any of the Provinces, in proportion to population. What we want now is an evidence, a substantial evidence, of *bona fide* intentions and not promises. We want to feel as soon as possible that we are part of Canada; instead of importing foreign goods, we desire to be able to get the benefits of your manufactures and markets here; we desire to feel

that we are a part of a great and progressive country, imbued above all with a deep sense of integrity in fulfilment of obligations.

Hon. Mr. ALLAN said whether the resolution now before the House passed precisely in its present shape or not, he was quite sure the great majority of the members, without distinction of parties, would give their firm adhesion to the main proposition which it contained; that proposition was, that the construction of the Pacific Railway was an absolute necessity if these British North American Provinces were to become a strong, united, and powerful confederation. If this great work was not proceeded with, then he was sure that the bright future which they all anticipated, and not unreasonably anticipated, for the Dominion would be shorn of half its promise; for without this Pacific Railway they could not hope to build up Manitoba or the North-west Territories, and without it our union with British Columbia would be little more than a union in name; if, indeed, our connection with this—one of the fairest Provinces in the Dominion—would not be imperilled altogether. He maintained that all Canadians, irrespective of party, were deeply interested in this question of a transcontinental railway. In the first place, our honor was bound up in it; the faith of the country was pledged to its construction and completion; and if we had one single spark of national pride and patriotic desire that the Dominion should be on this continent in reality what our French fellow subjects in their own language designated it—*La Puisse du Canada*—they should take care that no strife or party politics, no vacillating policy on the part of the Administration of the day, should ever imperil that position or endanger the Confederation by anything that might cause the loss of the Pacific Province, the possession of which was so necessary to the prestige, the political power, and the material progress and advancement of the whole Dominion. The resolution pointed specially to two points: first, the delay in the construction of the railway; and, secondly, the expenditures unnecessarily made. He would take the latter first, as it would give him an opportunity of saying a few words as to the motives which led himself and other members of this House to vote against the Georgian Bay Branch and the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railways. He wished it to be understood particularly as coming from Western Ontario that he was not opposed in the slightest degree

to any reasonable amount of public money being expended in the Ottawa Valley, or in any other part of Canada. On the contrary, it was his desire, as a Canadian, to see every part of the Dominion opened out and developed, as far as the means of the country would reasonably permit. But he was very jealous of anything which looked like frittering away any portion of the money which is so urgently required for a great national undertaking on any road or portion of a road not absolutely essential to or actually forming a part of the great national work in which the whole Dominion was concerned; therefore he had opposed the Georgian Bay Branch, and for the same reason he had voted against the bill for the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway—not from any party motives whatever, but because he conscientiously believed then, as he believed now, that it did not actually form a part of the great transcontinental railway. While on this point he would say that, however local interests might influence some few persons in British Columbia, he could not bring himself to believe that what that Province coveted was simply the expenditure of money within their territory, or that we should ever preserve that Province to the Dominion by any expenditure for merely local objects, or by anything short of making that union, which was now little more than a union in name—a union, in fact, by the construction of the Pacific Railway. Therefore he had voted against the construction of the Esquimalt Railway, because he thought it would only serve as an additional excuse for further delay in the construction of the main line. On the same ground, and for the same reasons, he viewed with some alarm expenditures now being made on sections or portions of road professedly forming, or rather hereafter to form, a part of the great Pacific Railway. They all knew the famous "water stretches" policy which the Government first enunciated when they came into office, and had to declare their intentions with respect to the Pacific Railway; and he ventured to affirm that that policy was looked upon by the great majority of the people as only an excuse for an indefinite postponement of the through-rail-route. This feeling of distrust as to the intentions of the Government in reference to the construction of the main road had been much increased by what had fallen from the members of the Administration themselves on several occasions recently, in answer to enquiries made from this side of the House; and a

very grave suspicion had been raised in his mind, as well as in the minds of others, as to whether the Government are really expending the money they are now expending on that which is ultimately to constitute the main line of the trans-continental railway, or whether they are putting it on roads or portions of roads which will be perfectly useless so far as the construction of the main line is concerned. Perhaps before the close of the session, in answer to the various enquiries which have been made from time to time, such information may be laid on the table of the House as would enable hon. gentlemen to form an opinion on the subject; for the statements which had hitherto been made by the members of the Government had been of so unsatisfactory a character, so uncertain, so wanting in clearness and precision, that it was almost impossible to gather from them what lines of road were being surveyed or constructed, or any definite or valuable information whatever about them. Passing onward to that part of the resolution that declared that the construction of our great National Inter-oceanic Railway is essential to the material advancement of all the Provinces of the Dominion, as well as to the early consolidation of political and social union among the whole people, he was sure this spoke the sentiments of a large majority of the people of Canada. It was quite true that under the pressure of various matters more immediately affecting our interests, in this part of the Dominion, the press and people had not lately spoken out so strongly or so earnestly on the subject of this Pacific road, but he ventured to assert that the heart of the people of this country was quite sound on that matter, and while they had no desire that the Government should use undue haste or push on the work without proper preliminary surveys, or faster than the resources of the country would fairly permit, they would not suffer anything that looked like an attempt to kill it off, either by diverting the money to unnecessary works or by continued delays or masterly inaction. He rejoiced, therefore, that the whole subject had been brought before the House by the resolution of the hon. gentleman from British Columbia, as it would give to the members of the Senate an opportunity of calling the attention of the country to the dangers which threatened a great national work, if the present policy of the Government be persisted in—a policy, too, which the Government seemed to take delight in enouncing—judging from

the Minutes of Council which have been alluded to—in such a way as would be most galling and offensive not to strangers and aliens, but to those who were our own fellow subjects, bound to us by the strongest ties of race, creed and a common allegiance. He had no desire to approach this question in a party spirit or from any partizan motives, and he hoped he had not done so on the present occasion. His earnest wish, as a Canadian, was to see a work, which, in the language of the resolution, was absolutely necessary for the consolidation of the political and social union among the whole people, proceeded with cautiously, considerably, but with one steady, persistent aim throughout, that of connecting the Pacific Slope with Central Canada and the Maritime Provinces on the shores of the Atlantic by a great inter-oceanic highway, thus completing and consolidating this Dominion as a power on this North American Continent.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT suggested that the debate should be adjourned, as a large bundle of important papers on this subject were in the printer's hands and would be before the House early next week.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY moved the adjournment of the debate.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said he did not see that there would be much more information in the papers than they already had; and there was enough in the Minutes of Council to found a dozen resolutions on.

The debate was adjourned until Thursday, Mr. Dickey having the floor.

THURSDAY, March 30.

The debate on Hon. Mr. Carrall's motion, respecting the Pacific Railway, was resumed by

Hon. Mr. DICKEY, who said he regretted that his own feeling at the present, and the manner in which his time had been so fully occupied, alike contributed to prevent him doing justice to the great and important question involved in the resolution. At the same time he would endeavour as briefly as possible to advert to a few prominent points connected with it without attempting to make an exhaustive exposition of the subject. An amendment had been suggested to the resolution, and it became necessary, therefore, that the House should intelligently examine the question and decide what course should be adopted under the circumstances. It they went back for a moment to the commencement of this legislation for the Canadian

Pacific Railway it would be found that an Act was passed in 1872 to provide for its construction. The policy of the late Government, which we need not reiterate, was that the road should be built by a company, with aids of money and land, and when he came to advert to the next legislative step it would be seen that the policy then announced had been recognized by the present Administration, although in a most singular and inconsistent manner they had immediately departed from it. The original Bill for the construction of the Pacific Railway would never have passed in this House, and it certainly would not have received his vote, as he stated distinctly at the time, but for a resolution which was placed upon the journals of the House of Commons, and recited as part of the preamble of the Canadian Pacific Act in 1874, for he was one of those not prepared to plunge the country into an unknown and untold expenditure for the purpose of accomplishing the object of that Bill. He remained of the same opinion still, but he and the legislature of the country were prepared to have the railway constructed by private enterprise with the aids that that Act accorded, and he shared most sincerely in the regret expressed that the legislation for the time was a failure, owing to circumstances which have become part of our history. The next step they found was this: The present Government brought forward an Act, to one of the controlling provisions of the preamble of which he would call attention to show how thoroughly the principle he had adverted to was incorporated into the legislation, and how utterly inconsistent it was to some of the clauses of this Bill. The portion to which he referred was as follows:—

"And whereas the House of Commons of Canada resolved in the session of the year 1871 that the said railway should be constructed and worked by private enterprise, and not by the Dominion Government, and that the public aid to be given to secure its accomplishment should consist of such liberal grants of land and such subsidy in money or other aid, not increasing the then existing rate of taxation, as the Parliament of Canada should thereafter determine."

That was the principle upon which this Bill was based, and yet the enacting clause was that the principle should be violated and that the railway should be constructed by the Government.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—Oh, no.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY—But I say, oh yes! for it enacts that the Government shall construct and work the railway. The

Act, it was quite true, continued the speaker, enables the Government, if they chose, to give aid to private companies, to let the road to contractors to be constructed, and worked by subscription, but would anyone tell him that that clause could be carried out? It was not pretended for a moment that any company had been found to take part of the railway, and yet they were to suppose that twenty companies could be found to take subdivisions and not only construct them but work them for all time to come. It was impossible that private companies could be found willing to do that, and it was not at all surprising that two years after the passage of this Bill they had not heard of a single company offering to construct a portion of the railway. (Hear, hear.) They were to get \$10,000 a mile, a grant of 20,000 acres of land and a guarantee of four per cent. of an undefined amount for 25 years; and yet notwithstanding all these aids no company had been found to construct and work isolated sections. But the Act declared that the Government shall have power to build the road, although they had recited in the Act the principle involved in the legislation of 1871, that the railway should be constructed by private enterprise only. Before he passed from the point, he might notice that the Act was brought in at the very tail end of the session and received a very slight consideration. There were only two or three days to look at it, and it was, therefore, not surprising it passed in the manner it did, and that his hon. friends who were present—for he was not here and was in no way responsible for it—did not wish to put themselves in a position of antagonism to the legislation proposed by the incoming Government, but desired to leave to them its responsibility, to enable them to carry on this great work and keep faith with British Columbia in the manner they proposed themselves. But how did they fulfil what they proposed? Before this Act was passed, they had another policy altogether—the Premier's well-known policy of water stretches—to carry out this great object of interoceanic communication; and this policy, which was carried on to a limited extent, had been quietly dropped. Why? The very construction of the Pembina Branch, which was so much talked of, was practically the abandonment of the water stretch scheme, inasmuch as it was to run some seventy miles from the boundary to Fort Garry, alongside one of

the finest navigable rivers of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said that was not so; the river covered 700 miles; and the road only 200.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY said the hon. gentleman himself stated the other day the distance from the American border to Fort Garry was only 68 miles; he was talking of our own territory, and criticising the policy of the Government. But that was not all. They had abandoned the policy of Parliament, which was to build the road by private enterprise, and committed the country to a ruinous obligation to build the road themselves as a Government work, which they partially exercised. (Hear, hear.) What was the next step? The Government, without any authority from Parliament, placed the matter in the hands of the Secretary for the Colonies, in order to get his decision to bring them out of the difficulty. The Government foolishly, as he thought, acceded to the proposition that the question should be referred to Lord Carnarvon, and after His Lordship had given his decision upon it. A Minute of Council was passed on the 18th December, 1874, which was to this effect:—That the proposals could be accepted, "without involving a violation of the spirit of any Parliamentary resolution or the letter of any enactment;" and that "the conclusion at which His Lordship has arrived upholds, as he remarks, in the main and subject only to some modification of detail, the policy adopted by this Government on this most embarrassing question." They therefore "respectfully request that Your Excellency will be pleased to assure His Lordship that every effort will be made to secure the realization of what is expected." But it did not stop there. An attempt was made to throw a gloss over this matter, and shift the responsibility of any failure in carrying out those terms upon this House, but he would speak of that presently. He proposed to show now, in fact, that the Government themselves stated that the carrying out of the decision of Lord Carnarvon did not require any additional legislation at all; and, second, that they approved of the course the Senate took on the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, which was one of the connections. He would take these points in order. What was that decision? It involved an immense outlay of money by this country. It involved not only the building of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo

Railway, but also the construction of a waggon road, a telegraph the whole length of the line, and the expenditure of \$2,000,000 a year besides. Yet, all this they were prepared to do, as he would show by reference to the papers brought down, without any legislative authority. Within a month before the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Bill was rejected here, the Premier stated, on the 5th March, 1875, after reading the settlement to the House:

"The terms recommended by Lord Carnarvon, and which we have accepted, are simply these: That, instead of one and a half millions, we propose to expend two millions a year within the Province of British Columbia, and we propose to finish the railway connection through the Province and downward to the point indicated by the year 1890, being an extension of time of nine years. With respect to the question raised by my honourable friend from South Bruce, I might say that I have nothing to ask from Parliament. We have no authority to obtain, but merely to communicate to Parliament this decision, and rely upon the House supporting us in accepting the terms."

Now matters had somewhat changed; there was a change of base very shortly afterwards, and there began to be an ominous change in the political atmosphere. The hon. member for South Bruce had taken a very decided stand in objecting to the policy and the Government, and the Prime Minister went so far as to assure the hon. gentleman that there was no necessity for alarm, as all they proposed to carry out of these terms was that part which required no legislation. They thought to quiet the hon. gentleman, but it had not this effect, for when the Bill came before the House it met with his opposition. The Bill passed, and came in its regular course to the Senate. The hon. gentleman from Vancouver Island (Hon. Mr. Macdonald) had stated the other day in his place that the Bill was sacrificed to party spirit in this House. It was a most ill-advised and unworthy statement, in the face of the fact, that several of the gentlemen who opposed it were ordinarily supporters of the Government; that the hon. member for South Bruce, who took an active part in opposing that Bill, was a few short months afterwards called to one of the highest positions in the Cabinet, and that the reasons adduced by these gentlemen for opposing the Bill were the very reasons which the Government now gave for not carrying out Lord Carnarvon's design. (Hear, hear.) He would prove it from the papers themselves. Hon. gentlemen would recollect that the great argument in the House against the measure

was that the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was not a part of the Canada Pacific; it was a mere local work and was given as a sort of sop to British Columbia. That was the idea, and it was the contention of the Opposition that the expenditure of money on that road was frittering away the means which Parliament had provided for the construction of the Pacific Railway. (Hear, hear.) They had rejected the Bill, and in taking that course and saving a wasteful outlay of four millions, they had had the sanction of the country. He proposed to prove now that they were right according to the position taken by the Government themselves. Here was their own language. One might suppose they had borrowed it from the speeches of hon. gentlemen from that side of the House, in opposing the Bill, and which ought to put to shame the cuckoo cry of party spirit in connection with this question. (Hear, hear.) Here was the Minute of Council of the 20th September, and what what did it say:—

"The proposed Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo does not form a part of the Canadian Pacific Railway as defined by the Act; it was intended to benefit local interests, and was proposed as compensation for the disappointment experienced by the unavoidable delay in constructing the Railway across the Continent. The work is essentially a local one, and there are obvious reasons against the Canadian Government, under ordinary circumstances, undertaking the construction of such works, and in favour of their being built, if at all, by virtue of Provincial action. (Hear, hear.)

The argument was put in even stronger language than that used by the Opposition, because the Government probably had access to facts which the Opposition had not; but the same line of argument was proposed. Strange to say, this State paper was issued within some five months only after the Senate had rejected the Bill and called down on their devoted heads the condemnation of many supporters of the Government and a portion of the press. He gave this, too, as an illustration of the manner in which the Government had backed and filled in their policy with respect to British Columbia and the Pacific Railway. Look again at what they had done in constructing a branch ostensibly to connect the American railway system with Fort Garry, where it was assumed the Canada Pacific Railway would cross Red River. Now we were told the point of crossing was moved down some twenty-three miles. They were expending money in constructing the line from Pembina to

Fort Garry; a line beginning nowhere and ending nowhere; as at Pembina it connected with no part of the American railway, and at Fort Garry it connected with no part of the Canada Pacific Railway. (Hear, hear.) The Hon. Secretary of State, in making out his statement to show where the steel rails were to be used, had to calculate on the road being extended twenty-three miles down the river in order to dispose of some of them. Then it had been suggested here that the Georgian Bay Branch was part of the Pacific Railway, but that was an afterthought. The notion was a perfectly futile one, because in the very Act itself the Georgian Bay Branch was spoken of as a branch of the Pacific Railway. There were only two branches mentioned in the Act, one the Pembina Branch and the other the Georgian Bay Branch, but now they had this extension from Thunder Bay to Shebandowan as a third branch, not authorized by the Act. He had called the attention of the Hon. Secretary of State, the other day, to the fact that the Canada Pacific Act of 1874 only provided for the construction of two sections from Lake Nipissing to Red River, one on the eastern section from Lake Nipissing to some point west of Lake Superior; and from that the next section was to Red River. There was no branch mentioned there, so if this section from Thunder Bay was not to form part of the main line, it was built without the authority of the law. Some hon. gentlemen could not see the pertinency of the questions he had put at the time, but the line from Nipigon north of Lake Superior was intended to go west, strike Rat Portage, and go to Red River, being nowhere nearer than fifty miles to Thunder Bay. The truth was, that portion of the line had not yet been located, and the hon. gentleman had no right to lead the House to believe that the line would go round Lake Superior from Lake Nipissing, in some unknown way, to Prince Arthur's Landing. As far as his information went, there was no proof whatever that such a line was practicable at all, and there was nothing in the official report to show that there was any practical route between Prince Arthur's Landing and Nipigon. It was idle to suggest that this Branch at Prince Arthur's Landing was to be a part of the main line; it was simply a link in the water stretches system soon to be abandoned, and it was wasting in its construction the means that ought to have gone towards the building of the great tran-

continental railway. In the last report of the Chief Engineer they were examining east from Rat Portage to Nipegon, in order to get a line, and it had not been located. He reports:—"Examinations have been made during the past season in various sections of the lake region between Lake of the Woods and Nipegon, and considerable information obtained. All the portages on the Dawson route have been instrumentally surveyed with a view to ascertaining the best means of overcoming them." There was the situation in which this section was at the latest report; they were examining from Rat Portage east, and from Nipegon west, and were not yet satisfied that there was a practicable line. The direct route would naturally lead them from Nipegon to Rat Portage and Lake of the Woods. From Nipegon east it was not known 'yet whether an available line could be found. The Engineer says:—"Exploratory surveys have been made from Nipegon Bay easterly to Pic River to ascertain if it be practicable to construct the railway along the coast of Lake Superior; and explorations have been made from the mouth of Pic River in as direct a course as possible towards the eastern terminus." Not to go to Georgian Bay, but to go in as direct a course as possible to the eastern terminus, the south east coast of Lake Nipissing. If the Government had been as desirous as they expressed themselves to be of utilizing the water stretches, would it not have been natural for them to improve the navigation of French River by a short canal which would not cost one-fifth as much as a railway, and secure water communication all the way to the foot of Lake Nipissing, the point of connection with that of the extension of the Canada Central or the navigation of the Ottawa? It was quite evident that the intention of Parliament was that this line should run as this report said it should run, in the most direct manner, north of Lake Nipissing to Lake Nipegon, and not south to Georgian Bay, as had been disingenuously asserted the other day. (Hear hear.) It was most unfortunate that in endeavouring to keep faith with the people of British Columbia, as all hoped and desired the Government to do, they had not taken some steps to show that at all events they were in earnest in their endeavours to carry out this inter-oceanic railway. Instead of starting from some available point to open up the great Northwest for settlement, and by means

of immigration to build east and west from this point, thus adding to the population and revenue of the Dominion, they had dissipated the means of the country for the last two years in endeavouring to build the Georgian Bay Branch and other branches, and in buying 50,000 tons of steel rails which were not likely to be wanted for many years to come.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—Hear! Hear!

Hon. Mr. DICKEY said his hon. friend might say "hear! hear!" but he would require a little more than that to explain to this House the fact that instead of expending that money in endeavouring to construct a portion of the main line they purchased rails that they did not require, and sent 5,000 tons of them round to British Columbia after it was known that the Esquimaux and Nanaimo road was not to be built, where they could not be used until they would be rendered useless by exposure to the weather. The line sketched on the map started from the head of Bute Inlet, but anybody who read the reports or studied the geography of the country would know that it would take years to get through that difficult region and put the line in a condition to require these rails; in the meantime they were to be put into piles, exposed to the action of the atmosphere, which would leave them in a few years not worth half their cost. It was well known that the effect of piling masses of iron together was the same as piling wood, to increase decomposition. The consequence would be that in a few years these rails would become correspondingly useless, just as sleepers would be if piled together, instead of being laid on the track and kept free from rust by friction of the trains. Upon these grounds he condemned the course of the Government in this matter; that they had actually dissipated the means which should have been used for the purpose of carrying out in good faith the agreement with British Columbia. But their measures had no tendency to that end, therefore it was the Government should be prepared with an explanation. He had to confess that he shrank from accepting the resolution before the House. As he had already stated, he stood upon the principle that this House was bound by their legislation alone. It was not necessary to go back to addresses and correspondence; it was quite sufficient for them that with the assent of the representatives of British Columbia they had made an arrangement.

and that arrangement was embodied in a resolution and Act of Parliament, and to that arrangement Canada ought religiously to adhere. He took that as the starting point apart altogether from that preliminary negotiation. His hon. friend (Mr. Carrall) did not propose anything practical by passing this resolution, but at the end an amendment was intended, he presumed, to some extent to justify the action of the action of the Government in doing nothing. But see how absurd this amendment would be. His hon. friend's resolution was to the following effect, (see resolution) and the amendment was to strike out all the words after "effort," and to add something, but the previous part of the resolution was to be kept in so that it would read, as amended, as follows:

Resolved, That the construction of the Pacific Railway having formed the principal condition upon which British Columbia entered the Canadian Confederation, every reasonable effort, without increasing the taxation of this country, should be made by the Government of the Dominion to satisfy the people of that Province that faith will be kept with them.

His hon. friend's resolution went back to the original terms of confederation and said these terms must be fulfilled, and yet with absurd inconsistency it said that this railway should not be built with any increase in the rate of taxation. There was nothing about increase of taxation in these terms, which his resolution re-affirms. He supported the Government in this, that they were not bound to carry out that great work irrespective of the terms placed in the statute book, and yet the Government were asked to support this amendment. They could defend themselves if they had acted rigorously and carried out the policy which they had put on the statute book; but they had not done so, and here his hon. friend (Mr. Haythorne) came in with a white-washing resolution for the Government, which said, "by the original terms of union you must be bound," and asked the House to endorse the original resolution and say, "by the terms of the entry of British Columbia into the union we must carry out this work"—that this railway must be built taxation or no taxation. But these were not the terms which were upon the Act of Parliament, and the terms of the Act should be adhered to. In future he hoped it would not be the case, as had been in the past two years, that the means of the country would be dissipated upon branch

roads, steel rails, &c., which cost millions of dollars, but at the same time did not add one mile to the construction of this great public work. He hoped the House would say to British Columbia, on one hand, "We are prepared honestly and truly to carry out the terms on which you were admitted by Parliament into Confederation; but, on the other hand, we are not prepared, nor would you ask us, to ruin this country by any unreasonable act on our part to carry out this work." (Hear, hear.) He hoped the House would neither accept the original resolution nor the amendment of the hon. gentlemen from Prince Edward Island and reaffirm what the Government themselves in their Minute in Council repudiated. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. HAYTHORNE moved in amendment that all after the word "effort" be struck out, and the following substituted:—"Without increasing the taxation of this country, should be made by the Government of the Dominion to satisfy the people of that Province that faith will be kept with them." He said after listening to the speech of the hon. gentleman who had just taken his seat, he had come to the conclusion that it was a most able effort of a most able special pleader. The House, however, should not be led away by the words of a special pleader, but by sound principles of policy and statesmanship. He had regarded this question with the utmost sympathy towards British Columbia; being connected himself with a lately annexed Province, he felt that the injury, if there was any, which British Columbia complained of might have been the case of Prince Edward Island. It might be that the Government would meet their engagements with that Province with similar inattention and neglect, and then the people of Prince Edward Island might have a just cause of complaint. He would simply do this when he heard hon. gentlemen from British Columbia complaining that the terms under which they came into the Confederation had not been faithfully kept: endeavour to put himself in their place, and ask himself how he would act if he were placed in the same position. He admired their courage and constancy in occupying that remote part of the British Empire and establishing their homes there. He admired the fine climate of their Province, the fertility of their soil, their splendid timber, their mineral wealth and other resources, and especially their firmness and

consistency in demanding the fulfilment of their terms of Confederation. He considered the Pacific Railway neither a British Columbian nor a Canadian road, but an Imperial work, and it should have been so considered ever since its inception. He would, with the leave of the House, quote a despatch from Earl Granville to Sir R. Musgrave, formerly Governor of British Columbia, which proved the action of the British Government, and the amount of influence brought to bear by them on the undertaking. In 1869 British Columbia had been invited to enter confederation, and the subject was introduced to the notice of her people through the instrumentality of that despatch from which he would read a short extract.

"Her Majesty's Government anticipate that the interest of every Province of British North America will be more advanced by enabling the wealth, credit and intelligence of the whole to be brought to bear on every part, than by encouraging each in the contracted policy of taking care of itself, possibly at the expense of its neighbour. Most especially is this true in the case of internal transit. It is evident the establishment of British line of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans is far more feasible by the operations of a single Government, responsible for the progress of both shores of the continent, than by a bargain negotiated between separate, perhaps in some respects, rival Governments and Legislatures. The San Francisco of British North America would, under these circumstances, hold a greater commercial and political position than would be attainable by the isolated capital of British Columbia. Her Majesty's Government are aware that the distance between Ottawa and Victoria presents a real difficulty in the way of immediate union. But that very difficulty will not be without its advantage if it renders easy communication indispensable, and forces onwards the operations which are to complete it. In any case it is an understood inconvenience and a diminishing one, and it appears far better to accept it as a temporary drawback on the advantages of union, than to wait for those obstacles, often more intractable, which are sure to spring up after a neglected opportunity."

In that despatch we were told expression was given to the matured views of the British Government. Thus it appeared to him that the British Government had almost identified them-

selves with the construction of the great Intercolonial highway, and they might fairly be asked to contribute largely towards it. He was well aware of the difficulty of inducing the Imperial authorities to take hold of Colonial questions, but this was more than an ordinary undertaking and would form the great means of communication between the East and the West, and he need not remind hon. gentlemen of the great importance eastern traffic had always maintained throughout the history of the civilized world. Great Britain had recently, without waiting for the consent of Parliament, invested several millions of pounds in the purchase of a controlling interest in the Suez Canal, which in many respects was an analogous undertaking to this Imperial railway. There was no doubt, if the matter was properly conducted, English aid could be secured for the construction of the Pacific Railway. He entertained the highest respect, esteem and regard for the Mother Country, but he could not undertake to say she was faultless, and in this matter she had not acted with the wisdom and liberality we had the right to expect. When she made over the Northwest territories to Canada she did not treat Canada well; the Imperial Government ought to have handed over the Hudson Bay Territory without any reserve and without charging the Dominion a dollar for it. It might be thought that the reservations the Company were allowed to retain were comparatively valueless. He had no personal acquaintance with them himself, but had endeavoured to inform himself through the medium of books and pamphlets. He had here an able pamphlet written by a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Trow, from which he learned that some of the reserves of the Hudson's Bay Company in the city of Winnipeg had realized as much as \$7,000 per acre; and he believed he could have produced statements of a similar nature from the *London Times*. With reference to the probable future loss we would sustain if this road was prosecuted, all he could say was that if we owned and wished to make anything of the country, we must have that road. Of what use was the richest land or the most valuable minerals unless we could have easy access to them? In this respect we should learn from the experience of our neighbours across the line; their history demonstrated that population, wealth and traffic immediately followed the construction of railways.

There was no ground for thinking the construction of the road would be a disastrously losing undertaking. It was a thing which must be done, and the sooner the better, without adding to the taxation of the country. Sir John Hawkshaw, the great civil engineer, and who was now President of the British Association, in his inaugural address bore valuable testimony to the advantages of railways in building up a country; he showed conclusively that the value of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railroad to the British public was more than equal to the dividends received by the stockholders. And that high authority further stated that the value of the British railway system—that is, its saving in cost of freight, fares and time to the public—was equal to not less than 10 per cent. on the total cost. Now, we know that between six hundred and seven hundred million pounds sterling had been expended in the British Isles on railways. He therefore came to the conclusion that their annual value to the nation, over and above the demands of the shareholders, was not less than sixty million pounds sterling. Sir John Hawkshaw further said there might be instances in which it would be justifiable for governments to assist in the construction of railways, and declared emphatically that such advantages would be recouped speedily by the great improvement of the position of the people, and that, he thought, was also the experience of every Government and municipality in Canada. In proof of this view, Sir John cited the case of Russia, which was analogous in many respects to the Northwest. The climates were not very dissimilar. Each had tracts of country called prairies here and in Russia steppes, and both would be vastly improved by internal communication. The want of this had been severely felt by that empire, which had suffered greatly in times of war. The standing armies of Europe tended to drive out the youth of that continent to America, where they could cultivate the arts of peace, and utilize the best periods of their lives; and thus a guarantee was afforded that the progress of that country would be rapid as soon as the road was opened up. He considered the tide of emigration was only temporarily checked, not turned, and that the North-West and British Columbia would fill up with population from Europe on the one hand, and from the dense population from China and the East on the other. With regard to the

expenditure to be incurred, he took the view that there was a vast difference in national debts as to whether they were incurred for reproductive rather than warlike purposes. It was gratifying to know that not a dollar of our debt has been incurred for war or armaments. This fact ought to stimulate us to greater exertions in the prosecution of this important work. Even if the debt was largely increased thereby, it would be distributed amongst a much larger population, which would be one of the results of the completion of the railway. The question at issue between British Columbia and the Dominion, if the respective governments could not agree, should be submitted to competent arbitration, and the award faithfully and promptly complied with. He regretted the rejection of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway measure, but he thought the Government in offering \$750,000 to British Columbia for the delay which had been incurred had acted with great fairness.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said that sum was offered for delays which might occur.

Hon. Mr. HAYTHORNE said he would not split hairs on the point; he thought the proposition of the Government a liberal one. They had no right to reward the railway as a British Columbian work; it was an Imperial work, and ought to be so regarded. Canada was as severe a loser from the delay as that province. He did not intend to defend the policy of the Government, but he hoped that in approaching this question hon. members would forget party. If it was desired to pass a vote of want of confidence it should be done in a direct way and not by means of such resolutions as this under discussion; it was unstatesmanlike to mix up a great national work with a vote of censure or want of confidence. In conclusion, he asked the House to deal with this question on its merits and not to consider it from a party stand-point.

Hon. Mr. PAQUET While cheerfully admitting the ability brought to bear by hon. members who have spoken on this subject, I feel bound to explain to the House some of the reasons which make me regret the hostile attitude they have displayed toward the Administration, which, in my opinion, does not merit their censures. Doubtless hon. gentlemen from British Columbia have given here expression to the views entertained by the Legislative Assembly of that Province, which views are explained in the Address presented to Her Majesty, un-

der date the 2nd of February last. In this document it is alleged that the Federal Government has completely violated its engagements, since it has commenced the railway neither on the Island nor on the mainland, nor constructed a highway or line of telegraph, all of which had been promised British Columbia on her joining the Confederation. As regards the line from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, the Government had last year obtained the approval of the House of Commons to a measure which, when it came up to the House, was assailed in a partizan spirit which I would not have expected, and despite the efforts of the Minister of Agriculture and those of the Secretary of State that measure was defeated. If there is cause for reproach, on whom must it fall? With respect to the railroad on the mainland, the Minister of Agriculture the other day informed the House without contradiction that the surveys were being carried on vigorously, and that so grave are the geographical difficulties that notwithstanding the surveys already made by the engineers, the only men competent in such cases, the Government has as yet been unable to arrive at the much desired solution. How, then, can the Government be blamed when the location of the line, which must of necessity precede construction, has not been settled? The same remarks are applicable to the highway, which also must precede the railway, and to the telegraph line, of which 500 miles have already been laid. The material for its construction is prepared along the route, especially in Columbia, and only awaits the fixing of the location. One of the paragraphs of the Address from the Legislative Assembly, to which I have alluded in my remarks, contains the following, respecting the promise to carry out energetically the surveys:—"There are no authorized data upon which to base a formal opinion." What is not contained there has been told us here. The Minister of Agriculture informs the House, on the part of the Administration, of which he is so distinguished a member, that the greatest diligence has been used, and that the most sincere desire is felt to carry out the terms of union. It is within the knowledge of hon. gentlemen from Columbia that enormous expense has already been incurred with this object. That they are conscious of this expenditure, their reticence on the subject amply testifies. I regret to hear the Government accused of breach of faith, of

violating the pledges of the country. What are the facts? Under the Act of Union with British Columbia, the Pacific Railway was to be constructed. It should run over a distance of some 2,700 miles starting from the Pacific Ocean, to such a point as should be designated by His Excellency in Council, at or near Lake Nipissing, within ten years. The present Government, having declared that upwards of two years had elapsed without appreciable information being obtained as regarded the surveys already made, found itself utterly powerless to carry out the terms of union, and delegated Mr. Elgar as its *charge d'affaires* to propose to British Columbia a change, in view of the utter impossibility of completing the line within the time stipulated. In token of its good faith and wishes, it offered them to construct the line between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, a distance of 160 miles, and costing about \$8,000,000; and to execute other works of recognized utility, the cost of which would have trebled this sum, in order to show the sister Province the almost insurmountable obstacles the country had to deal with. British Columbian discontent began to manifest itself, and resorted even to Lord Carnarvon, who, as arbitrator, approved the course adopted by the Dominion Government, while suggesting a few unimportant modifications. Since 1871 it has been recognized that this stupendous work would be undertaken solely on condition that no fresh burdens were to be imposed on the people, as would be seen by reference to the proceedings of the Lower House, which in the month of April of that year adopted a resolution proposed in this sense by Sir Geo. Cartier, and this too in presence of Mr. Trutch, one of the delegates, who since has occupied the highest social position in his province. While readily admitting that this express condition was not included in the terms of union, British Columbia ought to abandon her hitherto hostile attitude in view of the good will manifested subsequently in her regard by the voting and expenditure of upwards of a million dollars for surveys in connection with the railway on her coast alone. The better terms offered in 1874, over and above those of the agreement, amounting to some \$20,000,000, ought to place the Government beyond the reach of any unfriendly criticism. Another consideration which cannot altogether be left out of view is the increase of the tariff in 1874. Contrary to the decision of 1871, to which

I have alluded, this increase was necessitated by the enterprise in question. Hon. gentlemen from British Columbia cannot charge the Government with the failure of various companies who attempted to undertake this work. How should the failure to obtain money in England be laid at the doors of the present Administration? The change of policy thus necessitated rendered it impossible to have the road built by a company and obliged the Government to set about the construction themselves, while they retained the authority given by the Act to let the work to a company or companies competent to undertake the construction. The work should be proceeded with prudently. Without repudiating an engagement to which they were in honour bound; which the Government will never do, it will scrupulously watch over the interests of the Confederation, of which British Columbia forms only the four hundredth part in population. In view of the refusal of this honourable House last year to ratify the engagement to construct a line from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, the Government endeavoured to satisfy the Province by the offer of a subsidy of \$750,000, to be applied exclusively to local objects. Hon. gentlemen will observe, having in view the population of the Province, that the amount mentioned represents a gift to the rest of the Dominion of \$300,000,000, if it were to be treated in the same manner. It is in face of this liberality, in face of the earnest desire to fulfil obligations on the one side, that discontent and hostility are manifested on the other. Such conduct is unreasonable. Fortunately we find in an Order in Council, dated the 13th of March last, this important paragraph, "that it is incumbent on Government to push on the construction of the Pacific Railway as fast as the resources of the country will permit." Everything will be done, I doubt not, to realize the accomplishment of this gigantic work, to whose importance I attach as much value as any other hon. member of this House. While I deplore the existing discontent, which no argument can justify, the Government is to be congratulated on having successfully withstood the storm, and on having nobly performed its duty. Consequently I propose, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Fabre, in amendment to the amendment of my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island, that the words, "the principal condition" in the third line of the motion of my hon. friend from Cariboo be struck out and the

words, "one of the conditions," be substituted therefor.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said he could fully understand, and make due allowance for the disappointment of his hon. friends from British Columbia had sustained in the non-construction of the Pacific Railway, in accordance with the terms they had formed in 1871. When they went back to that period, and remembered the speeches that were then made, and the bright pictures that were drawn of this inter-oceanic railway, they could not but apprehend the great disappointment that Province must inevitably feel at the non-construction of the work. It seemed when this subject came up for discussion then, that the difficulties of the route were never contemplated, and only roseate pictures were drawn of the vast extent of magnificent country lying between here and the Pacific coast. The only books that were written on it were those written by Sir George Simpson, and the only persons who had travelled through the West were those who had travelled by the canoe routes, and had viewed the beautiful valleys and streams from a distance. It was thought they had little more to do than to strike out a line due west to the Pacific, lay down our ties, and on them place the rails. But they found in 1873, at the end of two years within which the Government of Canada undertook to commence the construction of the road, that they had up that time failed to find a line from Nipissing to the Pacific. The first document that met their eyes in this blue book was a protest sent in July, 1873, from British Columbia to the Government of the Dominion, calling attention to the fact that the two years had expired within which the railway should have been commenced. That protest of the British Columbia Government received a formal acknowledgment from the Federal Government. In November, 1873, about the time the change of Government took place in Canada, another communication was sent from the Pacific slope, calling attention to the fact that their protest had not received the due consideration which it deserved, and again protesting against the gross breach of faith on the part of the Dominion of Canada. So the present Government found things when the change took place in the management of affairs at Ottawa. While all the gentlemen who formed the present Administration had, he believed, on many occasions, given utterance to no uncertain sound as to what they thought

of the proposition to construct a road through 2,700 miles of wilderness to the Pacific coast, within the time limited by the terms of union, and how utterly impracticable they considered it; yet, in view of their serious responsibility, they set themselves to work to ascertain by what means they could secure such a rearrangement of the terms as was reasonable. They did not deceive the people of British Columbia, and tell them they were going to build this road within a number of years; but they said to British Columbia, through their agent, Mr. Edgar, "You, with ourselves, must appreciate the great magnitude of this work, and you must be prepared to make such sacrifices as are necessary for the honour of the Dominion. The Government will proceed with the construction of the road as fast as the means of the country would allow." They all knew the proposals made by Mr. Edgar. One of those proposals was the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. Here he would make some remarks on the speech of the hon. gentleman, (Mr. Dickey,) who, he regretted, was not in his place now, when he charged the Government with inconsistency with respect to the petitions, the Minutes in Council, and the submission to Lord Carnarvon for arbitration. All these matters were in the blue book, and one who studied them would come to the conclusion that the course of the Government was perfectly consistent from first to last. He would here draw attention to the very noticeable fact that it was probably for the first time discussed in this Chamber. The Government, as their predecessors did, proposed to make Esquimalt the terminus of the Pacific Railway. He mentioned this to show that when they passed the Pacific Railway Act of 1874, they ignored this Order in Council. By the Minute in Council passed on the 7th day of June, 1873, the Government of Sir John Macdonald committed themselves to fixing the terminus of the railway at Esquimalt. Coming to the legislation that followed, honourable gentlemen would see that the present Government entirely ignored any such conclusion. They assumed that that was wholly unwarranted; that the Dominion of Canada in its treaty with British Columbia was bound to build the railway only to the waters of the Pacific, and not to cross to Vancouver Island. In the Act of 1874 reference was made to it in these words:—"A railway to be

called the Canadian Pacific Railway, shall be made from some point near to and south of Lake Nipissing, to some point in British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean, both the said points to be determined and the course and line of the said railway to be approved of by the Governor in Council."

They entirely ignored the proposition that this country was bound to build a railway on Vancouver Island, when the proposition was made to British Columbia, that in view of the long delays that had elapsed, and the disappointments they had experienced, they thought it reasonable to make some concession here by way of building this line from Esquimalt to Nanaimo. With the meagre knowledge they then possessed of the country, it was assumed that it would be of some value to British Columbia; that it would run through a country susceptible of development, rich in minerals and coal, and as some consideration for the disappointment they had naturally experienced in the non-fulfilment of the terms by Canada as had been anticipated. In order to show hon. gentlemen how thoroughly that was borne out in the correspondence he would now advert to the Minute in Council passed in 1874, some months later. It would be found in the copy of the report of the Minute of 17th September, 1874; this was the time when negotiations were passing with the Imperial Government, the result of which was that Lord Carnarvon offered to act as arbitrator. This Minute showed that the Government considered it wholly and entirely as a concession to British Columbia, and as some compensation for their disappointment.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—Will the Hon. Secretary of State undertake to say what the exact meaning of the Minute in Council was when they made that offer of \$750,000; was it for the relinquishment of the railway?

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—I will tell my hon. friend it was honestly intended as compensation for the defeat of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Bill in this House.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—And not for delays which might occur?

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said it was not. The Government would build the road just as soon as the circumstances of the country would warrant it. The hon. gentleman had only to look at the correspondence, and he would see that no other possible conclusion could be arrived at. In the

first place this "Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway was offered as compensation for the delays in the construction of the Pacific Railway; that being taken away, and the Government feeling that they were in duty bound to make some compensation, then suggested this \$750,000.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—We could not find it out at the time.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—Our friends in British Columbia have always been so unfortunate as to draw the most unjust conclusions.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—Unfortunately, the organ of the Government, the *Toronto Globe*, came to the same conclusion.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the *Toronto Globe* did not speak the sentiments of the Government, and the Government did not consult it in passing their Orders in Council. The despatch, to Lord Carnarvon, of the 17th September, 1874, says: "It is proper to notice, *seriatim*, the several grounds of complaint as stated in the despatch:—

"1st That nothing is being done by the Dominion Government towards commencing and pushing on a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo."

The Dominion has no engagement to build such a railway, and therefore there can be no just complaint that it is not commenced. The construction of such a railway was offered only as compensation for delay in fulfilling the engagement to build a railway to the "Pacific seaboard." He thought the hon. gentleman would be prepared to say there was no uncertain meaning in that; that it was all in harmony with the speeches and policy of the Government. If they wanted further proof of that it would be found that in the bill of last year, and in that there was no reference to its being part of the Pacific Railway. But the hon. gentleman who sat at the Council Board in the late Government (Mr. Aikins), who gave his sanction to the location of the western terminus at Esquimalt, was the same gentleman who proposed to give the six months hoist to this Bill last year, on the ground that it was simply a local road. On that occasion he had said, "By the provisions of the present Bill, not only was the Canada Pacific to be built, but in order to allay the discontent in British Columbia, in consequence of the Government not completing the bargain with it, they now proposed to build sixty miles of railway on that island, for themselves, forming no part of the Pacific Railway. He for one would not object to the Bill,

but it was not so understood." And the hon. gentleman who put this motion of the paper (Mr. Carrall) also spoke on it as a local work, and the hon. gentleman who spoke first this afternoon used very much the same terms. Under these circumstances he did not see how this Government were justified in putting this heavy expense on the Dominion for what his hon. friend (Mr. Carrall) had called "a local work." He thought it was perfectly clear and consistent from the beginning, and that this House and this country knew precisely what the policy of the Government was with respect to the Esquimalt Railway. Not a word or line was ever written by this Government that would justify the conclusion that it was to form part of the Pacific Railway. A point was attempted to be made out of the fact that this Government had gone on and anticipated—so to speak—the construction of this work. When they found that their predecessors in office had committed themselves to the construction of this road on the island and carry it as far as Esquimalt, when they found British Columbia was anxious for it, and that Lord Carnarvon had made it part of the terms, the Ministry were justified in coming to the conclusion that Parliament would ratify the solemn treaty entered into with British Columbia on the arbitration of the leading Minister of the Imperial Government. They thought, therefore, they were quite safe in making arrangements for the construction of the road, as no one would have believed it possible that those gentlemen who had formerly put their record on paper that this road was to be part of the Pacific Railway, and Esquimalt was to be the terminus, would have been first and foremost in voting down this Bill.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—The Government sent the rails to British Columbia after the Bill was lost.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said they were ordered before the Bill was lost, and it was the action of this House that prevented their being used.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—It was your own supporters who threw out the Bill.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the hon. gentleman (Mr. Campbell,) led him to the conclusion that his policy was "party first and British Columbia afterwards." When the proposition was read first on the floor of this House that \$750,000 should be given to British Columbia, that gentleman announced at the outset that

he prepared to vote it down, but still the hon. gentleman from British Columbia would cling to the Opposition from whom they never received one single assurance beyond the mere empty speeches that were made that this line would be carried out. He had pretty clearly established that the course of the Government with reference to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was tolerably consistent throughout. He did not desire in any way to reflect on the late Government for their apparent inactivity in allowing two years to go over before commencing the construction of this work, because, he believed, after these two years had passed they had just begun to appreciate the magnitude of the work. Before that five speeches were made of what this country was to be when this railway would be constructed. One would suppose from reading the speeches made in those days that a fairy wand was to touch the country and at once the railway would spring into existence; the stern fact that a railway through 2,700 miles of wilderness had to be made, compassed and travelled, had not been studied. When the solemn compact was entered into with British Columbia there were not five men living who had ever gone over the line of what he hoped would one day form the Pacific Railway. Take the stretch of country south of Lake Nipissing and from thence north of Lakes Huron and Superior, by Lake Nipigon, and who had been over this unknown wilderness but the traders and trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who simply saw the country from their canoes as they passed along the streams. Then coming to Fort Edmonton the Rocky Mountains rose with a series of ranges until within thirty miles of the Pacific they found themselves 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. And yet hon. gentlemen would say this Government had not done their duty because they had not rushed blindly into the construction of this road. His hon. friend opposite (Mr. Macpherson), who was a man of large railway experience, thought the Government ought to satisfy the people of British Columbia. They should commence the construction of the road in that Province without delay, and expend some money, and because they had not done so he thought he was justified in his strictures on the Government. One would suppose from the observations of the hon. gentlemen that since the change of Government, and while this discussion

had been going on, the Ministry had been standing still; that when they took office they had folded their arms, locked up the public chests, entirely disregarded the construction of the railway, and indulged in paper bullets between themselves and British Columbia. Had they discontinued the surveys? No; and when he gave the figures of expenditures as they went along they would acquit the Government of any desire to shirk the performance of their duty or postpone the construction of this work. They found that up to the change of Government, although two years had elapsed, after considerably less than one million of dollars had been expended, no line had been located, and no particulars of the country had been given. Since that time surveys had gone steadily forward, and at the present moment the total amount expended for surveys alone was not less than \$2,236,987.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—For the whole road?

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said yes; for the whole road. British Columbia was only one-fourth of the whole road, but the amount expended in that section exceeded one million of dollars.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—You give the total expense for surveys since the inception of the Pacific Railway. Does that total embrace the money expended for surveys for the Pembina Branch and other branches?

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said it included the whole. He did not think any money had been expended on the Georgian Bay Branch; the whole amount paid to the contractor was only \$20,000; but in British Columbia they had eight different parties of 35 or 40 men each at work during the past year.

It being six o'clock, a proposition was made informally that the Speaker should leave the chair.

Other members proposed to adjourn.

Hon. Mr. BOTTSFORD moved the adjournment of the House, which was carried.

FRIDAY, March 31.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 3 p. m.
After routine.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY.

On the resumption of the debate on Hon. Mr. Carrall's motion being called,

Hon. Mr. DICKEY proposed an amendment to the amendment proposed by Hon. Mr. Haythorne to the resolution moved by Hon. Mr. Carrall, to leave out all the words after the word "resolved" in the original resolution, and to add instead thereof, "that this House fully recognizes the obligation to secure the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway, with the utmost speed compatible with a due regard to the other financial requirements of the Dominion, and without unduly increasing the rate of taxation, and regrets that the course adopted by the Government, in connection with this matter, has not met the expectations of the people of British Columbia, nor has it been such as to facilitate the development of the Northwest."

Hon. Mr. SCOTT then rose to resume his speech of the previous evening. After stating his position at the adjournment of the House, he said his hon. friend opposite seemed to think that the \$750,000 offered to British Columbia was compensation for future delays. He did not think the spirit of the correspondence warranted any such conclusion. The spirit of the Order in Council was perfectly clear that the object of the Government was to compensate the Province for delays incidental to the construction of the road.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—Was the money offered for the relinquishment of the Island Railway, or for delays which had or might occur in the construction of the transcontinental road?

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said—In the first place, the offer to build the island road was in consideration of the delays in the construction of the main line. That offer was made over and above what the Government seemed bound to do. The \$750,000 was offered in lieu of the Island railway.

Hon. Mr. MILLER said he had understood the Order in Council differently, until the Hon. Secretary of State had given this explanation. But if the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway were offered for delays on the Mainland, and the \$750,000 were offered for the delays on the Island Railway, it must be as compensation for past and future delays.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—Certainly.

Hon. Mr. MILLER asked what difference it made to have the word "future" in the despatch.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the objection was, that it conveyed an entirely false impression that the construction of the road

was to be postponed until an indefinite period. Here were the words of the Minute of the 20th of September, 1875:—

"The Bill which the Government introduced into the House of Commons to provide for building the railway, evoked a considerable degree of opposition in that House and in the country, and, although passed by the House of Commons, it was afterwards rejected in the Senate, and thus there is imposed upon the Government the duty of considering some other method of meeting all just expectations of the people of British Columbia, whose Government has not suggested to this Government any solution of the difficulty."

"It would seem reasonable that the people of British Columbia should construct this work themselves, or (if they think other local public works more advantageous) should, in lieu of this, themselves undertake such other local public works, and that the compensation to be given them by Canada for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway, should be in the form of a cash bonus to be applied towards the local railway, or such other local works as the Legislature of British Columbia may undertake, Canada also surrendering any claim to lands which may have been reserved in Vancouver Island for railway purposes."

"The sum of \$750,000 would appear to the Committee to be a liberal compensation, and the Committee advise that the Government of British Columbia be informed that this Government is prepared to propose to Parliament at its next session, the legislation necessary to carry out the views contained in this Minute as to the construction of the Pacific Railway, and the compensation to be given to British Columbia for delays in such construction."

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—The words, "for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway" mean the future.

Hon. Mr. VIDAL—And yet the Hon. Secretary of State said a few minutes ago that the \$750,000 was not for delays in the construction of the main line.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said it might suit hon. gentlemen to draw different conclusions from the Order in Council than the common acceptance of the English language would warrant, and if they did, he could not help it, but he thought it was scarcely fair to put any

such construction on it as the language did not bear. The proof that such was not the construction intended by the Government was the fact that they were then actually increasing the expense of and forcing on the surveys, expending more money than at any time since the inception of the scheme. The survey of the Intercolonial Railway, which was only one sixth the length of the Pacific Railway, with large cities at either end and through a settled district, easy of access, occupied five years, three years by Major Robinson and two years by Mr. Sandford Fleming. When it took such a length of time to survey the Intercolonial, hon. gentlemen could draw their own deductions as to the length of time it would take to locate the Pacific Railway, which from Lake Nipissing to the other side of the Rocky Mountains had scarcely one hundred inhabitants along the line. There was no possible parallel in the length of time that it would take to locate it as compared with the Intercolonial.

Hon. Mr. HOWLAN.—At the time the \$750,000 was offered to British Columbia, was there not a promise with it to construct the road in fourteen years?

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the Government accepted the award of Lord Carnarvon, but this was no reference to Lord Carnarvon's award, but simply a substitution for it. It was not necessary to renew an offer that was then in existence; they (the Government) simply accepted it.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY called attention again to the paragraph in the minute in Council above referred to, "for any delays which may take place," etc., and asked if that did not mean delays in the future.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT again denied such was the policy of the Government. He thought hon gentlemen ought not to be so captious and sceptical; the language was there, and he was sorry it did not suit his hon. friend to draw proper deductions from it. It was another illustration of the truth of the old saying, "Convince a man against his will, and he's of the same opinion still."

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL asked the hon. Secretary of State to explain the fact that when the minute in Council was published, and after the Government had abandoned the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, during that time and subsequently they had surveyors at work on the line.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the hon. gentleman was aware that the Hon. Mr. Mac-

kenzie went over to England early in the year, and in the winter when it was supposed that this road was to be built surveyors were sent across the continent to locate the line. When the Bill was thrown out it was not thought advisable to stop the survey as the work would be valuable if the people thought of building the railway themselves. Would not his hon. friend have been the first to condemn the Government and say it was adding insult to injury after sending out surveyors to locate the line, if they had been stopped by a telegram from Ottawa. Hon. gentlemen were disposed to find fault no matter what action the Government would take. If they had declined to expend the money they would meet with opposition, and if they expended it they met with opposition. He would explain some of the difficulties the Government had to contend against in the surveys in British Columbia. He believed the distance of the three routes that had been surveyed from Edmonton to the coast averaged somewhere in the neighbourhood of 800 miles. The computed distance by Yellow Head Pass and Fort George to Bute Inlet was 800 miles, but the route further north would shorten that distance. In the first thirty miles from the Pacific coast the rise was 3,000 feet. That was where the difficulty came in, as any hon. gentleman experienced in railway matters would easily understand.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL asked why the Government did not adopt the route that was easy from the Rocky Mountains to Victoria.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said no doubt if the hon. gentleman had been appointed Chief Engineer it would have been a great service to the Government, but unfortunately for the country, no doubt, these services had not been offered. However, they had obtained what was considered the best engineering talent in the country, a gentleman who had the respect and confidence of all parties, and they believed that gentleman was quite competent to be entrusted with this great work. The money which had been expended was under his directions, and he thought it was judiciously laid out. From the returns from that gentleman's office he found that the expenditures year by year on the east side of the Rock Mountains were as follows in round numbers:—

To the 30th of June, 1872.....	\$194,000
" " " 1873.....	345,000
" " " 1874.....	199,000
" " " 1875.....	290,000

And for the half year ended 31st, 1875, \$246,000, nearly double what had been expended in any previous six months. The amounts expended on the west side of the Rocky Mountains during the same periods were, in

1872	\$295,000
1873	215,000
1874	111,000
1875	183,000

and to the 31st December of 1875, \$204,000. He thought this entirely bore out the statement he had made a few minutes ago that during the time these negotiations were going on with British Columbia the Government were pushing on the surveys more vigorously than ever. The total amount expended in surveys was \$2,286,987. It had been urged yesterday by an hon. gentleman that the Government were not building this road in accordance with the terms of the Act, which provided that it should be constructed by private companies. No doubt such was the intention of the Act, but the Government felt that if they postponed all the work on the road until the whole line was finally located, so that it could be offered to private companies, very serious delays would necessarily arise. The Government thought it better to proceed with the grading of the road at such points as the line had been finally located, and thus give to the country an earnest indication that they were proceeding with this work with all the despatch in their power. The sections between Fort William and Red River were undertaken in order to open up communication with the Northwest as speedily as possible. They also put under contract the grading of the Pembina Branch and the line some seventy miles east from Selkirk with the idea that when the proper time came, they would be in a position to place the road on the market with the view of inviting capitalists to undertake the work, and this part being done as cheaply as it was possible to do it would be taken by the contractors as part of the main line. That was another proof that the Government were endeavouring to push on this work as rapidly as possible. In addition to this, tenders were invited for the construction of the telegraph line wherever the railway had been located. The contracts that were given out under tenders were rapidly pushed forward, and on the line from Fort William to Selkirk, 414 miles, the amount paid was \$49,000, and from Selkirk to

Livingston, 266 miles, they had paid \$56,600. From Livingston to Battle River, he understood, the line was in operation.

Hon. Mr. MILLER asked what the hon. gentleman meant by the line being in operation.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the wires were strung.

Hon. Mr. MILLER—Then I am to understand from that that portion of the railway line is located.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said it was the portions located he had given as from Fort William to Lac des Mille Lac. From there to Rat Portage the line had not yet been located. Several surveys had been made, but the country was intersected with water stretches, and it was found to be very difficult to establish a good line. From Cross Lake to Selkirk, the line was under contract. The whole distance from Fort William to Selkirk was 414 miles; it was assumed that it would not exceed that. From Selkirk west the next point was Livingston, 226 miles, where the line was located. From that point to Edmonton, a distance of 520 miles, the line was also located. From Edmonton to the Pacific, about 800 miles, was where the difficulty came in. Several lines had been surveyed—one by Yellow Head Pass. It was possible that that line might be selected, and if it were, the distance from Edmonton to the entrance of that Pass was 250 miles. From Yellow Head Pass, assuming that that part of the line would be adopted, it would be 250 miles to Fort George, where another serious difficulty arose. From there two or three different lines had been surveyed. The lower line to Bute Inlet, on the Pacific Coast, was 300 miles. To Gardner Inlet was the other route, of which he was not prepared to give the distance.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—Then I am to infer from what the hon. Secretary of State has stated that the Government have decided to abandon the Fraser River route from Yellow Head Pass?

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—I have stated that from Edmonton difficulties still existed, but from the information I have received, the route from there by the Yellow Head Pass would be selected, and beyond that it was impossible to say what particular route would be adopted.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—The hon. gentleman has mentioned in his remarks respecting the distances three different routes, one of which would probably be selected, but in the three routes he had

not named the Fraser River, and I therefore inferred that it had been abandoned.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said he regretted he could not give the hon gentlemen the information, as the line was not yet settled upon beyond Yellow Head Pass, but there were eight different surveying parties in that country, with an average strength of from thirty to forty men, engaged in exploring for a line. The expense of the work already done throughout, down to December 31st, 1875, was as follows:—

Surveys	\$2,287,207
Construction.....	360,000
Telegraph account	170,000
	<hr/>
	\$2,817,207

To this amount add the amount for steel rails, \$2,000,000 more, which would make a total of \$4,817,207.

Hon. Mr. MILLER asked how the hon. gentleman included the two millions for rails.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said because they were purchased for the Pacific Railway, and part for the Intercolonial Railway.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said there had been only a fraction of the rails sent to Thunder Bay.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—What portion of the work is the two million dollars charged to.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said it was for the construction on the whole work. The Government felt the responsibility that had been thrown upon them, and they proposed to carry out the work just as rapidly as the circumstances of the country would warrant them doing, and no faster. He did not think it was in the interest of the Dominion that it should be saddled with an enormous debt and be rendered at the same time incapable of finishing this work. Everybody must know that the project entered into by the late Government in 1871-72 to construct this road by a private company was simply impossible. It was quite evident that any company formed at that time must have broken down, as the scheme was utterly impracticable. The 800 miles in British Columbia could not be built for less than \$60,000 per mile. Was this House prepared to pass a resolution of censure upon the Government because they had not taken out of the coffers of the country \$5,000,000 more than they already done towards the construction of this work. He thought not. He did not think they

would place themselves in a false position before the country; they were beyond the popular vote and above the ordinary influences that affected the lower Chamber. They had a higher and more important duty, and it was for them to say whether the Government had not acted fairly and honestly towards British Columbia. He appealed to hon. gentlemen to rise superior to political exigencies and influences. He was quite aware of the position which the Government held in this House, but he had faith in the good sense and sound judgment of hon. gentlemen, that they would not for a matter of mere party triumph let it go forth to the country that the Senate had censured the Government, because they had not expended more than five millions of dollars on the construction of the Pacific Railway, as that would be the only deduction that would be drawn from the motion of the hon. gentleman, if it were carried.

At the request of Hon. Mr. Scott, Hon. Mr. Dickey read his amendment.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the natural conclusion to be drawn from the resolution was, that they should not satisfy British Columbia at the expense of the other Provinces, but that the undivided energies of the Government should be devoted to building the road into the Northwest.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL remarked that the terms of union demanded that the road should be commenced at both ends.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the resolution accused them of failure of duty, in not developing the Northwest.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—You have failed everywhere.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said it was quite impossible to satisfy the hon. gentleman. He thought \$750,000 very fair compensation for 15,000 people, and that they could have made good use of the money. He believed that British Columbia would be the favoured portion of Canada before this century rolled over, but they could not anticipate that period, nor lose sight of their duty towards the rest of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. GIRARD rose to express his concurrence in the amendment before the House. He regretted that the great scheme to put the Atlantic Ocean in communication with the Pacific had not been consummated. He did not blame the Government for expending too much or too little, but he blamed them for improper expenditure. The first scheme was for the construction of the road by private companies, with the aid of large subsidies

of land and money. He approved of that scheme; and was of opinion that the water stretch policy of the present Administration would result in throwing money into the water. Some sections would profit by it; but the loss to the whole Dominion would be great. He was glad that the Hon. Secretary of State had declared it to be the intention of the present Government to build the road, but he would ask what had been done up to the present time, and if British Columbia had not some reason to feel uneasy at the present position of affairs? The Government had certainly not treated the Province with due consideration, and they had just grounds for complaint. From speeches made by members of the Government, a short time ago, they were led to suppose that the Government intended to kill the Pacific Railroad, but so strong was public opinion in its favour, that they wisely relinquished this policy. The rejection of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Act, in his opinion, was a very wise step. In this matter British Columbia was not the only Province to be satisfied; and that railway could not have conferred much benefit on the rest of the Dominion. He thought British Columbia was perfectly right in refusing that \$750,000, which he regarded as a bribe, or, at all events, a compromise, in order to keep the people quiet. The purpose of the Government was evident, it was to shut the mouth of British Columbia. He thought the objection raised by the people of Manitoba would have a good result in this Pacific Railway question, but he was not in favour of the Government entering into extravagant expenditure at present. In constructing the road, care should be taken that no extra burdens were thrown upon the people. In reading the speech of the Premier at Sarnia, he was struck with the following passage.—“And I trust that when this road is finally completed it will be one that will conduce largely to the public interests of Canada, to the interests of the Empire; and to the transmission of a portion of the Asiatic trade across our own territory to take shipping again in our own waters to the old land. That this will be the case I have no doubt.” He fully concurred in this view. He advised the friends of British Columbia not to press the construction of the road at all hazards. He hoped their dissatisfaction was not deep rooted; he would be very sorry if the unwise policy of the Government was the cause of serious trouble.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the construction of the road was not looked upon as a party project at the time of its inception; it was advocated as strongly by one party as the other, and was looked upon by both as a great national work, not only as regarded Canada, but the whole Empire. The construction of the road was considered as an essential feature of the consolidation of Her Majesty's North American Provinces, of the building up of a large population on this continent, to be governed by monarchical institutions in contrast to the institutions that prevailed in the United States. Therefore, great importance was attached to the work, and no one had been or was now disposed to view it from a party light. He sympathised very much with his friends from British Columbia. They had been left in a state of uncertainty and perplexity, and were at a loss to know what to believe in regard to the work. The instructions given to Mr. Edgar were of a character to alarm the people of the Province. These instructions were the first step taken by the present Government in doing anything in the Pacific Railway matter, and they seemed to be framed with a view to intimidating the people of British Columbia, and to treat them as persons having a sinister design on the public purse. The following extract showed the spirit of Mr. Edgar's instructions:—

“You will remember that the Dominion is bound to reach the seaboard of the Pacific only, not Victoria or Esquimalt, and you will convey an intimation to them that any further extension beyond the waters of Bute Inlet, or whatever other portion of the seawaters may be reached, may depend entirely on the spirit shown by themselves in assenting to a reasonable extension of time, or a modification of the terms originally agreed to.

“You will take special care not to admit in any way that we are bound to build the railway to Esquimalt, or to any other place on the Island, and while you do not at all threaten not to build there, to let them understand that this is wholly and purely a concession, and that its construction must be contingent on a reasonable course being pursued regarding the other parts of the scheme.”

This was the language of intimidation. What right had the Government, if, as they said before this paper was written, they repudiated all liability or agreement made by Parliament to construct the railway on the Island of Vancouver, to say: “If you behave yourselves we will build your Island railway?” Either that road was a part of the Pacific Railway, or it was not. The Government had taken the ground that it was not, and from their stand-point they had no right to

hold out this promise to the people; they had no right whatever to instruct Mr. Edgar to make such an offer. Nor, on the other hand, had they the right to threaten that in the contingency of their dissenting from the terms to be proposed by Mr. Edgar the road on the Island should not be built. When the negotiations commenced in that spirit was it to be wondered at that the people of the Province became doubtful of the intentions of the Government? They ought to have been met frankly and reasonably, and every assurance given them that faith would be kept with the Province. If a course of honest fairness had been pursued he ventured to say they would have yielded to the interests of the country at large, and we would have not experienced the present trouble. But all through these negotiations there was an evident attempt to drive them into undefined new terms. The several Minutes of Council seemed to have been framed in the same spirit as Mr. Edgar's instructions, as would be seen from the following passage:

"The Committee must further observe that the tenor of the representations now under consideration would seem to indicate that the object of the Legislature of British Columbia is less to secure the completion of the work as a national undertaking in such a way and on such terms as may best conduce to the welfare of the whole community, than to enforce the immediate and continued expenditure within their own Province, at whatever cost to Canada, of many millions of money, for which they cannot pretend to have given an equivalent."

It was a most unwise policy to taunt the people of a small Province in this manner; to accuse them in a State paper of entertaining a sinister desire, not for the construction of the road as a great national work in which all the Dominion was interested in, but to secure at any hazard to the country the expenditure of a large amount of money among themselves. He was persuaded that this was doing a great injustice to our fellow subjects in British Columbia, and certainly nothing could be further from the spirit which ought to characterize a State paper than to put forward such an accusation against a whole Province as had been done by the Government in this Minute of Council. It was perfectly clear that British Columbia had just right to complain of the course pursued towards them in the instructions sent over, the Minutes of Council, and the language used by the Government irrespective of the question of the construction of the road altogether.

Whether sufficient or insufficient progress had been made in the construction of the road, they had a great right to come to this House and complain of the treatment they had received, of the language that had been used towards them, and the motives attributed to them. This debate had been adjourned three or four times at the instance of the Government until papers that had been asked for should be laid on the table, but when these papers came, and we had them on the table of the House, there was nothing in them that had not already appeared in the public newspapers days ago. There was no information in them that members did not already possess, except the expenses of the telegraph line. He was glad to hear that the road to Fort Edmonton had been located, but the progress made in the actual work of construction was represented by two very small sums indeed. He found no fault with the amount expended in the surveys; he presumed that the Government were guided by the Engineer in Chief, and no doubt the expenditures were thought necessary by that gentleman, who he believed to be a very high authority in such matters. There was no intention on the part of the members of this House to press the Government to go on with the construction of the road without the most thorough and complete surveys. The very best possible line should undoubtedly first be definitely ascertained. They understood from the Hon. Secretary of State that the line had been located from Fort William to Shebandowan, from Cross Lake to Red River, from Red River to Fort Pelly, and from Fort Pelly to Fort Edmonton, a stretch of 801 miles ready for work, yet the amount, expended on the construction was only \$190,000.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—\$360,000.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL, continuing—Well say \$360,000; but I was taking the figures in the return. That very evidence did not show that the efforts to push on this work were very energetic, and tended to increase the distrust of the British Columbians in the good faith of the Government and in the pledge of the Dominion, that the great railway should be pushed on as rapidly as the general circumstances of the Dominion would admit. There had been a considerable expenditure on the telegraph line; but was not the Secretary of State mistaken in saying that the telegraph line was completed from Fort Pelly to Fort Edmonton,

because the distance was 520 miles and the sum paid was only \$56,000. The average cost of constructing the telegraph line would be \$500 a mile, and the whole expenditure up till now was only \$41,000, so that there could not be as much of the line constructed as the Hon. Secretary of State had stated, or the figures given in the returns on the table were incorrect or represented a part state of facts.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—I said from Livingston to Edmonton the telegraph was finished; from Selkirk to Livingston, I mentioned that \$56,600 had been paid on account of progress, and the line from Livingston to Battle River was in operation.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—From Fort William to Edmonton was some twelve hundred miles and the total amount expended on telegraph account was \$170,300, so that there must have been some mistake in the hon. gentleman's statement. The House was entitled to demand information, but they could not get it either from the papers before the House or from the Secretary of State.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said the paper from which he had read was from Mr. Fleming's own hand. The telegraph had been erected from Livingston to Battle River a distance of 354 miles, and it was in operation some months ago.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said then this did not correspond with the returns before the House. He was glad his hon. friend from Amberst had changed the resolution so as to include the whole Pacific Railway as well as the portion in British Columbia within the scope of it. The Northwest had as much ground for complaint as that Province, and the delay in opening up the fertile country of that territory was one of the serious charges to be laid at the door of the Government. That portion of the country was one in which the Dominion was most deeply and immediately concerned. It was of the first importance that it should be opened up as speedily as possible so as to encourage the rapid settlement of the fertile belt, and he was glad to see that his hon. friend from Manitoba had taken part with his friends from British Columbia in complaining of the course which was being pursued by the Government with reference to the whole subject. The amendment gave expression to the views which were entertained by many members of the House who believe that British Columbia had not been fairly treated and had ground for the distrust which they felt

in the intentions of the Government, and with them doubted whether vigorous efforts were being put forth to keep the pledge of the Dominion, to construct the great national highway to the Pacific, as rapidly as, in the words of the amendment, the financial necessities of the country would admit. He disclaimed being actuated by party spirit, on behalf of those with whom he had the honour to act and for himself. Their only desire was to see that good faith was kept with British Columbia, and that this great national work, which they considered vital to the life and increase of the Dominion, and to the perpetuation of British institutions on this Continent, should be proceeded with as rapidly as is consistent with the securing of the best practicable line, and with the financial requirements of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. McCLELAN said, that in whatever way the amendments affected the question in its political or party aspects—he did not consider the final vote in this Chamber so important as a free expression of opinion by hon. members on the abstract question. The resolution of the hon. member from British Columbia referred to a matter of vast importance to the Canadian people, in all sections of the Dominion; and after adverting to his speech in 1871, when the resolution passed which led to the union of British Columbia, involving the construction of this railway within a specified period of time, and considering the course of events since, he (Mr. McClelan), at least, could congratulate himself on having treated the question consistently, and, as he believed, in a way which was approved of by the country. British Columbia, it must be conceded, was admitted on better terms than any other Province of this Confederation—better as to the number of their representatives, and their financial gains, and apart altogether from the construction of this great work, which traverses the whole Continent. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Campbell) has spoken of the necessity of keeping good faith with the people, and of dealing frankly with the question; but, it must be conceded that, if the fulfilment of such a compact involves ruin and disaster to the Dominion, it would be "more honoured in the breach than in the performance." The breach of good faith, however, and the want of frankness was more apparent at the outset than at any subsequent period. The impossible conditions of two and ten years for the starting and completion of the gigantic work,

should never have been placed in the terms of union. And if they had not been so stated then, the hon. gentlemen who so ably represent that Western Section would not be complaining of the failure to spend sufficient money in their immediate locality; but they would treat the question as alone it ought to be treated, from a broad Canadian standpoint. In short, the people of that Province are as much interested in protecting the credit and limiting the taxation of Canada as are the people of the larger Provinces; for, if financial burthens of a depressing nature be brought upon the political system, the out-lying portions—the extremities—will be more readily affected than larger and more populous centres. He (Mr. McC.) was glad to notice that hon. members on all sides were now willing to look on this railway as a work of the future, without any regard to the mention of a limit of time, and that the section in the law, providing that no increased burthens shall be imposed on the people as a consequence, has been accepted and agreed on. This view, in fact, was expressed and thoroughly understood by the late Sir Geo. Cartier and his supporters in the Commons, when the compact was entered into, and this was concurred in by the delegate then present, since Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia. The question then arises, are the present Government proceeding with the work as rapidly as the financial condition of the country admits? He (Mr. McC.) was more disposed to censure the Government for proceeding too rapidly than too slowly, and when the Government, acceding to the wishes of Lord Carnarvon, undertook to provide for the construction of a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, involving an expenditure of upwards of \$2,000,000 on Vancouver Island, work in no way a part of the Pacific Railway, they evidently undertook to do somewhat too much. This local work at present was entirely unnecessary, could only be made available from the main land by a further expenditure of an enormous sum of money, and while it might add to the value of the city of Victoria and its vicinity, it would not serve the interests of the more scattered portion of the people of the Province. The reference to Lord Carnarvon, by which the Government of this country became complicated with this undertaking, was unfortunate, and the thanks of the country are due to the Senate for refusing to sanction the Bill of last ses-

sion, and he hoped the Minutes of Council by the late Administration, providing for this work and the making of Esquimalt the terminus of the Pacific Railway, would have no influence on future action. The problem was sufficiently complicated and difficult of solution without this additional burthen, which certainly could never have been considered a *sine qui non* in arranging the terms of union. He (Mr. McC.) entertained the opinion that in arranging for the admission of British Columbia the Imperial Government should have been urged to give substantial aid towards the Pacific Railway. It is well known that the location of the Intercolonial Road—not in the interests of the Provinces or where it will be of any great commercial importance—was in order to satisfy Imperial notions of a military or defensive nature, and for this comparatively trifling work, we received the guarantee of the British government; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, to be relieved of the Government of Columbia—consolidate the whole of British America—and chiefly to secure a great trans-continental highway, invaluable in a strategetic point of view, were results of such moment to Great Britain as to insure for their realization material aid. Such, however, was not secured, and Canada is now bound to proceed according as the circumstances of the country may admit. He (Mr. McC.) hoped that we would profit by the experience of the United States—where such a work was only ventured on when the republic contained over thirty millions of people—with an annual influx of nearly half a million of immigrants, and with twenty or thirty large cities scattered along the line. Even this road—the Union Pacific—has failed to be profitable as an investment, and we all know how disastrously has resulted the attempt to construct the Northern Pacific, which, in some respects, has very much more to strengthen and sustain it than our Canadian Pacific can be expected to have for a long time to come, as a through line of communication. Recent improvements in the great channels of trade do not give much encouragement to hope for much overland traffic in eastern products; but while keeping constantly in view the ultimate completion of the work, its construction may, and should be, so utilized so as to facilitate the peopling of the extensive valleys of the Northwest—the Red River, the Saskatchewan, and others—so fertile as to be capable, according to Professor Hynde, who years ago

carefully explored the country, to sustain forty millions of people. The policy now being pursued of constructing the Pembina and Fort Garry road, and thence easterly towards Lake Superior, was a correct one, and if the proposed outlay on the Georgian Bay section, of doubtful advantage, could be deferred, and applied to hasten the extension into more valuable regions, it would possibly be more advantageous. In proceeding with the Pacific Railway as fast as possible, commensurate with the resources of the country, it will be impossible to forget wholly the other works of equal utility, and which the Government are equally in honour bound to construct—and one of these is the Baie de Verte Canal. (Hear, hear, by Hon. Mr. Dickey.)

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—Was that one of the articles of confederation?

Hon. Mr. McCLELAN said it was so completely understood and agreed on by the delegates, that it was not deemed necessary to place it on paper.

Hon. Mr. MacPHERSON—That canal was only like any other public work of the Dominion.

Hon. Mr. McCLELAN—Not altogether. The Government were in honour bound to build it before even the purchase of the North-West was made. But like the Pacific Railway, it has suffered some delay, though not from the same cause. It cannot, however, be ignored wholly, if the chief object of the Confederation—the promotion of a free exchange of Provincial products—be fully realized. Reverting to the Georgian Bay Branch and the abandonment of the contract by the mutual consent of Mr. Foster and the Government, he felicitated the Administration on the opportunity now afforded of delaying for some years the further prosecution of this work—and relieved also from all embarrassments as to the Vancouver Island expenditure, greater attention can be paid to the central sections, and the vigorous though careful explorations of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific slope with a view of determining the very best route through that most difficult section of country, where no less than three lines have already been cursorily examined, and it may be found that still another and more feasible route may yet be secured. In determining the best and cheapest location for a railway of this extent, involving an ultimate expenditure of \$150,000,000, and entailing an annual outlay of \$8,000,000 in the running expenses, the utmost care should

be exercised. The experience of the late Government should be a warning for the future, and the prophetic utterances in 1871 of the hon. gentleman now Minister of Agriculture, when he said that like the projectors of the Tower of Babel, the Government would be scattered, would continue to apply to successive Administrations, if the utmost prudence and care be not exercised. He (Mr. McClelan) entertained a favourable opinion of the climate and resources of British Columbia, and had recently listened with interest to the description of that Province by a gentleman connected with the Geological Survey, who accounted for the mildness of the climate by the action of the tidal currents on the coast. This gentleman's perfect acquaintance with all classes of the people there enabled him to say too that they were truly Canadian in feeling and sympathy and excepting a very few interested grumblers there were no indications of disloyalty whatever, and he was surprised, in 1871 as well as on other occasions, to hear of secessionist tendencies in that Province.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL did not think any one had expressed that view.

Hon. Mr. McCLELAN said secession had been mentioned as a probability, and that like Alaska, Columbia might pass into the hands of our Republican neighbours; but he hoped there was no foundation for that statement—in short, he felt that when such aspersions were made the people there suffered from misrepresentation. They surely would not have it understood that their loyalty was to be measured by pecuniary considerations, and if they did feelings of disloyalty would not be engendered when they had received from Canada an amount equal to \$100 for each inhabitant in excess of revenue furnished. In conclusion, he would say that he felt it his duty to support the Government in proceeding with this great work in the interests of the Canadian people and with a correct appreciation of the means and resources of the country.

Hon. Mr. VIDAL said he had listened with great regret to the unjust and unnecessary charge of partizanship preferred against so many members of this House by the Hon. Secretary of State. Nothing in the conduct of the members justified the assertion that they were actuated by improper or unworthy motives.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—I made no charge.

Hon. Mr. VIDAL said he took down the words of the hon. gentleman at the time, and he said they were "putting party first and the country afterwards." He did not suppose that anything he would say would remove the hon. member's prejudices, and he would not have referred to this charge were it not that the hon. member from Victoria had also made a similar observation, although not in so offensive a manner. That gentleman, carried away by his anxiety to promote the interests of his own Province, and thinking they might be endangered by our action, had said we sacrificed British Columbia to party spirit in voting against the Esquimalt Railway. He repudiated that allegation, not only for himself but other members, for no one in giving the vote to which the hon. member referred, was influenced by the least desire to sacrifice British Columbia or to jeopardise her interests. They claimed on the contrary to be her best friends, and so voted, because they felt that if the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway was constructed it would unquestionably postpone the connecting of British Columbia with the Provinces of the east, and it certainly was not needed for local traffic. He was glad this subject had been introduced in this House, where its difficulties could be more satisfactorily dealt with than by appeal to England. He thought it was a mistake on the part of British Columbia to carry their grievance in the first place to the foot of the throne. Coercion on the part of the Imperial Government would neither be attempted nor submitted to on a question of this kind; it should be left to the good sense and honourable feeling which would undoubtedly characterize the Parliament of Canada. The amendment which had been introduced by Senator Dickey, and which he intended to support, showed that they did not approve the strong language of the original motion, or wish this question to assume a party complexion. He had read the returns brought down very carefully, and he thought there was sufficient ground for British Columbia assuming the position she did. The Minute in Council said:—

"The proposed Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo does not form a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as defined by the Act; it was intended to benefit local interests, and was proposed as compensation for the disappointment experienced by the unavoidable delay in constructing the railway across the continent."

Now what was implied by the idea of compensation? Was it not an acknow-

ledgement that some wrong had been done and it was to make reparation or atonement therefor.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—The wrong was done by our predecessors.

Hon. Mr. VIDAL—Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that they agreed to construct the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway as compensation for the neglect of the trans-continental road?

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—If there was disappointment it arose from the policy of the late Government.

Hon. Mr. VIDAL said he was not talking about the Railway policy of either Government, but endeavouring to establish this particular point, that if no wrong had been done, there was no necessity for compensation. Further down the same Minute proceeded to say:—

"It would seem reasonable that the people of British Columbia should construct this work themselves, or (if they think other local public works more advantageous) should, in lieu of this, themselves undertake such other local public works, and that the compensation to be given them by Canada for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway, should be in the form of a cash bonus."

When it was first charged that these terms applied to future delays, the Secretary of State denied that it was the real meaning of the Minute, and it was not until the matter was pressed closely that it was acknowledged to mean compensation for delay in the construction of the Pacific Railway. That document might be laid before any English scholar and it would be almost impossible for him to attach any other meaning to the words than the interpretation placed upon them by the Province, which was that its acceptance of the proposal might defer the construction of the road for an indefinite period, and under such circumstances British Columbia was perfectly justified in refusing the bribe to concur in the delay. The charge made against British Columbia that she only desired the expenditure of money within her own borders was not fair; the people had a right to expect that the terms of union should be honestly carried out, as speedily as possible, and this expectation was justified by public opinion everywhere.

Mr. Dorion, at the general election in 1874, asserted that the policy of the Government with respect to the Pacific Railway would be very much the same as that of their predecessors. This was distinctly and clearly stated, and went over the country as an assurance that this great undertaking would be honestly ad-

opted and energetically carried out. When the Premier broached the scheme of utilizing the water stretches in his speech at Sarnia, the impression made on the minds of his hearers was that he proposed to use the waters of the Lakes Huron and Superior, and also those lying between those lakes and the Rocky Mountains; but it was not then understood to be antagonistic to a future all-rail line. Under the subsequent development of that policy, such as the proposed construction of the Georgian Bay branch and the Thunder Bay Road, it was not to be wondered at that the people of British Columbia did not give the Government credit for any sincere intention of carrying out the work on the main line, especially where the obligations to do so were spoken of as "appalling," and their fulfilment as an impossibility. That they were serious no one denied, but they did not cause the late Government to stand aghast, for they felt that the completion of the work was necessary to the very existence of the Dominion, and that its abandonment would speedily ruin our prospects. This question has been too much regarded as one affecting the Province of British Columbia and the disappointed people of that country alone; he regarded it as equally affecting the Dominion as a whole, for this road is a national necessity, and many thousands of our people were disappointed, as well as the people of British Columbia, that the road was not pushed forward. Nobody had found fault with the expenditures which the Government had made in surveys; everybody approved of it; everybody knew and felt that it was a most important thing that the country should be thoroughly explored for the best route, and the money was well expended in seeking to ascertain the shortest and cheapest line to the Pacific coast. If the Government had assumed the proper attitude towards British Columbia, and announced their intention to commence construction as soon as the line could be located, no one could have found fault. If they had said "We are doing our best to construct this railway at the earliest possible moment, and you know the importance of getting the best route. Although we have so many engineers and surveying parties at work, we have not been able to find out a proper location yet, but as soon as we do the road will be commenced." Had the Government taken that position, showing that it was part of their policy to build

the road, and that they were only delaying it until they found a good route, British Columbia would have recognized too fully the good feeling of the Dominion towards them to find fault with the Government for not doing what it was impossible to accomplish. But there were avowed intentions and attempts to expend millions of dollars on branch lines which should have been expended on the main line. Why not take the money proposed to be expended on the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway and expend it upon the road going east from the Pacific coast; that would have shown that the Government recognized the rights of British Columbia and were sincere in their endeavour to carry out the work. Again, there was an attempt to spend millions of dollars on the Georgian Bay Branch, which under no circumstances could form a part of the main line. More recently there was the proposal to construct a railway connecting Red River with Thunder Bay, Lake Superior. Of the western section of this line he cordially approved, as it would form part of the main line itself from Red River eastward to Rat Portage, and he was glad to learn it was under contract; but of the eastern section he could not approve, particularly that part now under contract from Lac des Mille Lacs to Prince Arthur's Landing, which was not and could not form a portion of the main line without diverging forty or fifty miles out of the proposed route of the Pacific Railway. There was no good reason for taking that route to go to Red River. As a matter of fact the main Pacific line must pass between Lake Nepigon and Lake Superior, and from thence westward to Rat Portage and on to Red River. That was the line of the Pacific Railway, as defined in the Engineer's report; but what reason there was to start from Thunder Bay westward, and thus necessitate the construction of sixty-four miles additional railway, he could not imagine. Nepigon Bay was as good a harbour as Thunder Bay, and vessels could, with a suggested improvement of the Nepigon River, come up to the main line of the Pacific Railway. It was claimed that Thunder Bay was opened eight days earlier in the spring than Nepigon Bay, but would it be wise to incur the additional expense of the construction and perpetual maintenance of sixty four miles of railway for the sake of eight days of navigation. But they did not secure this small advantage by going to Thunder Bay, as the road is to commence ten miles

from Prince Arthur's Landing on the Kamistiagua River, and the ice did not clear from that river any earlier than from Nepigon Bay. He mentioned these facts to show that there were grounds for the belief which prevailed in the minds of many, that it was not the intention of the Government to go on with the early construction of the through rail line. Had the Government assumed a different attitude towards this work; had they energetically taken up the scheme of the railway as left by their predecessors—not bound, of course, to adopt all its details—difficulties which they feel to be so overwhelming would not have presented themselves. A transcontinental railway was not a new and questionable experiment. Success in such an enterprise having already been achieved in the United States; but an attempt was made to show that it could not be a commercial success, and that it would not attract any amount of trade from China and the East. It had been stated in this House that the trade on the Union Pacific from the East Indies, China, and Japan, was insignificant; but he held in his hand a statement taken from a newspaper, and not authoritative, but which claimed to have been compiled from official blue books, showing that the trade between these countries and Europe amounted to over seven hundred millions of dollars in value. The Canadian Pacific Railway would shorten the route by one thousand miles, and the cooler climate of the country through which it ran made it more desirable for the transport of many articles of this eastern trade than the warmer climate on the Union Pacific. He believed if the Pacific Railway were constructed it would prove to be a commercial as well as a rational success. If the Government had gone into the English market full of confidence in the desirableness and ultimate success of the great work, and impressed upon the minds of the English people the importance of this road to the empire, both from a military and commercial point of view, they would have enlisted the sympathy and aid of the British Government in the enterprise; it would have been approved and recommended by them, and they would have had no difficulty with the millions of capital in Great Britain always seeking investment in getting plenty of money to build the road. Canada unaided could not be expected to build this road out of her own resources, and the plan of the late Government was to have English capital

invested in it as the only way in which the railway could be built within a reasonable time. British Columbia had a perfect right to bring her complaints to the Parliament of Canada, and he believed there was a majority of both Houses who, believing their claims to be good, would do all that lay in their power to secure redress. He was sure the House would generously grant their rights and endeavour to stay the expenditure of money on unnecessary works which should go towards the construction of the great through line which was promised when British Columbia entered Confederation.

Hon. Mr. REESOR said as to the obligation of Canada to build the Pacific Railway as soon as they could without greatly increasing the taxation of the country, he thought there were scarcely two opinions at the present day. The obligation had been entered into, and he had no doubt it would be faithfully fulfilled no matter what Government was in power. But it appeared to him that the resolution was really asking more. The effect of that resolution, if it were adopted, would be to urge upon the Government to unduly prosecute this work and involve the country in a larger amount of expense, and have the line made so hastily without due regard to the adoption of the best route, that this House should pause before adopting a motion that would commit the Government and the country to such a position. The first part read as follows:—

"That this House fully recognizes the obligation to secure the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway with the utmost speed compatible with a due regard to the other financial requirements of the Dominion, and without unduly increasing the rate of taxation."

So far he would support the resolution, but when it goes on to say:—

"And regrets that the course adopted by the Government in connection with this matter has not met the expectations of the people of British Columbia nor has been such as to facilitate the development of the Nor-West,"

It struck him as being calculated to press upon the Government with too much haste, and in carrying it out with too much haste there might be less speed. He believed last year when the vote had been taken that killed the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Bill it relieved the Government from a very heavy responsibility, and left them in a very much better position before the country. Perhaps that was not the intention of the members who voted against the Bill, but no doubt it had that

effect. He did not happen to be in the House at the time, but if he had been he would have added one more to the majority against the Bill. He thought in large questions of State this House should rise above mere party feeling and party obligations, in order to do what they believed was for the greatest benefit of the country. He feared if this resolution was carried it would not be in the interests of the Dominion, and he believed it expressed more than the country were willing to sustain. He considered that the Government were doing all the country desired them to do with regard to the construction of this road—more than they could afford to do in the pressed circumstances of the Dominion. One hon. gentleman suggested that the work could be commenced at both ends, but the western end of the line had not yet been determined. Surely it was not desirable under these circumstances that the country be involved in the expenditure of millions and millions of dollars that might utterly ruin the credit of Canada without knowing whether the road were really practicable. He thought it would be only folly on the part of any Government, no matter what their obligations might be, to proceed so hastily. If Parliament pledged itself to the construction of this road in ten years, it was only on the understanding that it could be done in that time without unduly pressing upon the resources of the country. During the time the Bill was before Parliament there was a representative here from British Columbia, the Lieut.-Gov. of that Province—duly delegated by that Province, and he urged upon the members of this House—he spoke from personal knowledge of the facts—by all means to pass the Bill, to never mind the ten years' limit, it was not obligatory, as it was only intended to express some definite time, to which they were not bound. Inasmuch as a company or firm are bound by the act of their agent, so he considered the Government of a country were also bound by the acts of their agent. He never felt that Canada was bound to go further than the conditions embodied in the resolutions passed at that time by the House of Commons, and by the interpretation of the Act as given by Lieutenant-Governor Trutch. Any one having the slightest conception of the difficulties of the route must have known from the very inception of the scheme that there would be no possibility of locating that road in less than five years.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said Mr. Trutch simply came over here to turn up some of the archives of the country, and he had no authority to give the assurance he did by the Government of British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. BEESOR said he took it, that when the accredited agent of a country appeared in another, his utterances, made in an official capacity, were binding on the country which he represented. He did not think, from the statements of the representatives of British Columbia themselves, that they desired the Government of Canada to be placed in such a position as to damage their credit at home and abroad; they did not desire that the expenditure on this railway should be more rapid than the country could reasonably afford. Taking that view of the case he thought they had no reason to complain of the expenditures of the Government up to the present time. He did not rely solely upon the statements of the Government alone, because they could not have had actual practical observation of the work that had been going on that the engineers had, and it was no secret that the Chief Engineer had stated unhesitatingly that the work was being carried on with the utmost care and vigilance, and as rapidly as it was possible to do it without incurring a great deal of useless and unnecessary expenditure. It would not be a very great while until the road was located in British Columbia, but until that line would be located in the best possible place the contract should not be let. Coming farther this way, between Thunder Bay and Red River a great deal had been said about the water stretches. They had several water stretches that were very valuable, and it was only natural when the Premier was first installed an officer that he should look round to see whether some of the appalling expenses and responsibility could not be saved or averted for a little time by utilizing the water stretches and connecting them with railway sections which would afterwards form portions of the main line. It was contended that the section from Thunder Bay should not have been constructed; that it should have been started from Nipigon Bay. It was well known that the neighbourhood of Nipigon Bay both east and west was an exceedingly rocky country, with immense engineering difficulties that could not be overcome without enormous expenditure of money; it was even yet doubtful whether a route would be secured between Lake Nipigon and Lake

Superior that the Government would be warranted in adopting, so that it might yet be possible that they would have to go north of Lake Nepigon. The section from Thunder Bay to Red River was the most important point at present; beyond that to the Rocky Mountains there would be very little difficulty; miles of track could be laid in a single day. He considered that to undertake to build the road at present from Lake Nipissing east over seven hundred miles of barren country utterly unsettled was unnecessary, and it would entail an enormous expenditure of money. He thought if the Government should abandon the Georgian Bay Branch altogether and take time to build that portion north of Lakes Huron and Superior; if they would so far modify their plans they would receive the thanks of the country. The Georgian Bay Branch ought to be delayed at all events until it was determined that the portion of the railway south of Lake Nepigon could be constructed, a fact which he very much doubted at present. He looked forward to the time, though it might not be in his day, when the through line would be in operation from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but in the meantime he thought they should be content with a road from Thunder Bay that would open up communication to the Northwest, and thus bring into reach for settlement the vast and fertile plains of the Red River and Saskatchewan. That work was now being performed as rapidly as possible, so that in a very few years we would have a continuous line of railway from Thunder Bay to the Rocky Mountains. So much of the work having been completed, we could gradually go on until the continent is spanned from ocean to ocean, bringing with it increased prosperity, and not ruin, upon our fair Dominion.

Hon. Mr. WARK said he had hoped that this resolution, like the two that had preceded it, would have been withdrawn, as a majority of the House would not be found to sustain it. To the first part of the resolution there could be no objection, but where it proceeded to censure the Government, he considered it was unwarranted. He had listened to the discussions on the Georgian Bay Branch question without any remark, as he looked upon it as properly a question between Ontario and Quebec. The hon. member from Montreal threw some light on the subject, when he said the late Sir George Cartier had given a pledge to his Quebec supporters that it was part of the policy

of the late Government, and he had no doubt it would have been constructed had they remained in power.

Hon. Mr. AIKINS said it was no portion of the policy of the late Government to build the Georgian Bay Branch.

Hon. Mr. WARK said the policy of the late Government was shaped by two men, and the other members of the Cabinet were left to look after the departments, therefore he did not take the hon. gentleman's statement as being authoritative.

Hon. Mr. MILLER asked if the policy of the present Government was not shaped by two of its members?

Hon. Mr. WARK said he was not referring to the present Government.

Hon. Mr. AIKENS said he considered his word just as good as that of the hon. gentleman.

Hon. Mr. WARK said he had not the slightest objection to the hon. gentleman thinking that he had shaped the policy of the Government himself if he thought fit. Sir George Cartier intended to take care of the interests of Quebec, and it was the intention to make a connection between the railway system of that Province and the Georgian Bay, so that traffic from the west could come by this more direct route to Montreal instead of going by the lakes and the St. Lawrence. He was not prepared to say whether the road was necessary or not, but he looked upon it as a question entirely between the two Provinces. Some censure was applied to the Government in a former debate, because of the construction of the Pembina Branch, but his impression was that this work was necessary at the time it was undertaken in order to encourage the Northern Pacific Railway Company to extend their line to the frontier, otherwise they could not be expected to do so, and turn out their passengers and freight on the open prairie. With respect to the part of the resolution which said the course of the Government had not been such as to develop the resources of the Northwest, he did not see what other course they could adopt than the one they had taken. They were building the Pembina Branch according to the policy of the late Government, and they were building that portion of the Dawson route on which they had formerly to depend on staging. Where was the delay? The Government were building the sections that would be first required. He believed a great mistake had been made by the Government in their policy towards British Columbia; they would have been quite justified in

saying to that Province, "a contract has been entered into with you that is impossible to be carried out, therefore you must be content to wait and allow us to examine the face of the country carefully, whatever time it may take, and then we will commence the construction of the road, but not until then." The experience which the country had in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway was a sufficient warning not to proceed with such work without the most accurate surveys. British Columbia had not been neglected by any means; they had nine different lines of telegraph of an aggregate length of 632 miles which received a subsidy of \$43,000 per annum from this Government. He did not know whether that was part of the compact with British Columbia, but it was an indication that the Government had not neglected their interest, and he thought, therefore, it would be the feeling of this House not to support this resolution.

Hon. Mr. SKEAD said, as seconder of the amendment of the member from Prince Edward Island, he thought it his duty to say a few words at this stage. In the first place it was necessary that he should put himself right in this House. It was well known that when this Island railway was before this House last session he had voted for it, and he believed in doing so he had acted in the interests of the country, and in accordance with the compact entered into with British Columbia at the time of Confederation. He had voted consistently for the present Government scheme of railways and water-stretches, and he would now be consistent on this occasion. As far as the first part of the resolution was concerned it would meet with his approval, as his sympathies were with the people of British Columbia, but he could not go so far as to censure the Government of the day for the large expenditures that were being made on the Welland and Lachine canals, which was the effect of the latter part of the motion. He would do what he considered was right in this matter, independent of party, and when any question came up as between country and party he would take the side of country. He would go as far as any hon. gentleman on the floor of this House in sticking by his party, but when he came on the floor of this House as far as his humble abilities guided him he was determined to avoid party feeling. If a vote could be carried in this House in condemnation of the general policy of

the Government that would be effective, it would have his support, but the way it was picked up piece meal to get up a cry against the Government, he could not join it although he had been twitted because he did not. He was something of a mechanic, and he knew that the first thing to do in building a railway was to get the plans and profiles, then when the contract was given out the contractors would know what to do. Although they had surveyors at work in British Columbia, it would take several months of careful calculation to place the result of their explorations on paper in order to prepare for the giving out of contracts. The country was pledged to the construction of the road, and although he did not think it would be built in ten or twelve years, it would be as soon as the resources of the country would permit. An hon. gentleman gave it as his opinion that the railway should go north of Lake Nipissing. He agreed with him, that was where the late Government intended to start it. He thought it would be also wise if the present Government would take advice in time, and improve the navigation of French River by constructing two or three locks and in that way get into Lake Nipissing; then they could start their road from the south east corner of the lake and find a direct route to Pembroke. No doubt British Columbia did right in refusing the \$750,000 that was offered to them in compensation. If he had lived there he would have done the same thing, much as he would like to assist the Government in what he believed to be right. Gentlemen upon the other side of the House had seldom or never been known to vote against the Government except upon that particular occasion, and indeed he had very grave doubts about the sincerity of the members of the Ministry themselves in that respect. He was informed there were valuable coal mines on Vancouver Island, and if Victoria was to be the great coal depot of the Pacific coast nothing was more wanted than the railway. He had himself always voted consistently upon this question, but he repeated his belief that the Government had taken some of their supporters to a quiet place and given them a hint to vote the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Branch down. The true course to take upon this occasion was to negative the resolution and the amendment to the amendment, and support the amendment of his hon. friend from Prince Edward Island. He, at least, was going to adopt that course.

Hon. Mr. PENNY said he would not have risen upon this occasion except for several observations that had been made respecting himself. For his own part, he had never believed very much in the grand hopes some people entertained with respect to the Pacific Railway. His own impression had been, as was well expressed by hon. gentlemen upon both sides of the House, that the proper way to get the road built, was to obtain the assistance of the British Government. He was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but he would be very much mistaken if the railway were ever constructed until that assistance had been obtained, and obtained in a way very different from that in which the bribe was thrown to us, with respect to the Washington Treaty. It had always been his opinion that it would be a long time before we got to Paradise—that Paradise which had been spoken of in such glowing terms by many hon. gentlemen—if we had to wait to get to it by the Pacific Railway. Nothing except the flush times we experienced when that project was conceived could have enabled the Government to carry it through Parliament. The Imperial authorities had given \$4,000,000 sterling for the purchase of an interest in the Suez Canal, and he saw no reason, if Imperial interests were to be considered, why they should not also come to our assistance with regard to the particular work in question. There was no mistake about it when we undertook to unite with British Columbia, we also undertook to build this road. But apart from the details of the conditions on which that union was consummated, there was this general prevailing principle of international law which ought not to be forgotten—a law that existed between all countries—that no treaty is binding except so far as it is possible to carry out its terms. It had been arranged that the railway should be begun within a certain time, and finished within a certain time, but there was this contingency attached to the whole transaction—that the taxation of the country should not be increased in consequence. He had heard a great deal about the ambiguity of the actions of the present Government, but he could conceive no conundrum more excruciating than that which was presented by these terms accompanied by such a proviso. The question to be considered was, had the Government really endeavoured to carry out the spirit of the terms. He believed, as did the hon. gentleman

from Belleville, that the Government had done everything within their power in this regard. He had seen photographs representing forty miles of the country through which it was proposed the road should pass, and he was bound to say it presented some of the most extraordinary features imaginable. Throughout the whole distance there was hardly a place where a log cabin could be placed, and where the surveyors had to project the line they were compelled to erect a staging along the edge of the rock to enable them to make their surveys. He had come to the conclusion that, all things considered, the Government had done everything that could be done. However this might be, the Columbian Government appeared to have been dissatisfied with the very reasonable proposition made to them by the Dominion Government, through Mr. Edgar. They rushed to Downing street, and the Home authorities made a certain arrangement, which in reality was a new start. This House, in its wisdom, when that arrangement was submitted to them, threw it out, and he took his own share of the responsibility of this action. There were some gentlemen in the House, however, whose conduct on that occasion he conceived to be scarcely consistent with their past record, but no doubt it was perfectly consistent with their consciences. These gentlemen had declared, through an Order in Council of the Government of which they were members, that the road from Nanaimo to Esquimalt should be part of the main line, yet when a proposition was laid before this House to construct that road they voted against it. An hon. gentleman had spoken in a somewhat mysterious manner about the probability of Government influence being used with their supporters to vote down the proposition. So far as he was concerned, if any influence was used or endeavoured to be used upon him upon that occasion it was in order to induce him to vote in the very opposite way in which he did. A gentleman who professed to be, and he believed was, acting in behalf of the Government, urged him to vote for the Bill. He was opposed to it, as were several other gentlemen, and although the pressure to which he had referred was brought to bear—and finally had the effect of making some of those gentlemen vote with the Government—it had no effect upon him. He had exercised, independently, his disposition to serve the country without respect to party. He would be candid

enough to say that the action of several hon. gentlemen in this House had done something to strengthen his determination. He referred to the occasion upon which he saw certain hon. gentlemen from British Columbia standing up and voting against the Georgian Bay Branch. When he saw them join upon that occasion with a certain party, it occurred that they had got their idols, and it would be better to leave them alone. It had been contended by some hon. gentlemen that the Government should have re-introduced this Bill. He was not such a stickler for the rights and privileges of the Senate as some hon. gentlemen were, but to take the course which had been suggested, he could scarcely conceive to be respectful to this House. It would simply be an attempt to force the House to retract the vote it had given last year. Suppose the Bill had been re-introduced, he would not have voted for it any more than he did last year, and gentlemen on the other side would also be unlikely to do it. He admitted that British Columbia being a small Province was entitled to every consideration from hon. gentlemen representing the larger Provinces, but he was also bound to say that British Columbia was represented in both Houses of Parliament very greatly out of proportion to its population. It seemed to him, in consequence, that the representatives of that Province should exercise some little modesty when they deemed it necessary to bring matters up for the consideration of Parliament. With respect to the correspondence between the authorities of the Dominion and British Columbia, he might say that he was not generally disposed to be hypercritical about the language used on the other side, but he could not help remarking that the latter displayed a wonderful want of resources. It was surely an easy thing, if they considered Mr. Edgar had not the proper credentials, to have communicated with Ottawa and ascertained the facts. He might say the same with regard to the Order in Council which had been the cause of so much agitation and was so thoroughly misrepresented in British Columbia. That interpretation had never been contemplated by his hon. friends on the Treasury Benches, but the British Columbia members never took the trouble to ask what it really was. He believed that the Bill last year was thrown out upon a party vote, and his belief was that his hon. friends from British Columbia were very anxious that

their *confreres* from Ontario should have all the credit of pursuing a policy antagonistic to that Bill, while through the aid of the Ministerial party they should have the advantage of the railway. He had come to the conclusion that if he could help it this should not be the case. The hon. gentleman concluded by stating that a great many engineering faults had been attributed to the Government, but his own impression was that every Administration was bound to take the advice of their chief engineer upon matters of this kind.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON said he would not have addressed the House again but for an allusion which had been made to a remark of his by the hon. the Secretary of State—that had a Bill come before this House asking \$750,000 as a sop to British Columbia, he would have voted against it, just as he had voted against the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, and for the same reasons. He would, indeed, vote against everything he believed was intended to postpone the construction of our great Inter-Oceanic Railway, which, he had no hesitation in saying, both these propositions had for their object. Now the arrangement proposed to British Columbia, as set forth in the Order in Council, clearly showed that the offer was meant to be a compensation for the postponement to an indefinite period of the construction of the main line of the Pacific Railway, and he defied any one who would read the papers to prove the contrary. With respect to the arrangement proposed by Lord Carnarvon, he held that the Colonial Secretary made a proposition which, with his means of information, he was justified in thinking would be acceptable to the people and Parliament of this country. It was merely so much nonsense to speak of Downing Street dictation in this relation, as an hon. gentleman had done, or to say that the amended terms were made by the Home authorities. No such thing. The terms were proposed by the Government of Canada to British Columbia, through Mr. Edgar, and the Colonial Secretary, surely, was justified in believing that no Cabinet would make a suggestion on the subject which they did not know to be acceptable to the people of Canada and their representatives. But this Government had no reason to suppose that Parliament would consent to the postponement of the Pacific Railway, there was no such desire or intention prevailing in the country, and under the circumstances

they did what was quite unjustifiable when they led the Home authorities to believe that any arrangement which would have that effect would be assented to here. It was futile for hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches to shield themselves behind the excuse that this arrangement emanated from Downing Street, and had therefore to be assented to. As he had already said, Downing Street simply aided the Canadian Government in accomplishing an arrangement which the latter had represented would be acceptable to the people of Canada. The vote of the Senate last session rejecting the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Bill was a just and patriotic vote, and had the approval of the country, for the all-powerful reason that the people would not consent to postponing indefinitely the construction of the Pacific Railway. If the Government had frankly informed Parliament that they had been engaged earnestly in surveying the country, that notwithstanding so much money had been spent for that purpose yet no satisfactory route had been found, he would have been ready to say that they did what was quite right. He was prepared to support them in making a thorough survey of the country before the work was proceeded with, but such was not the explanation they submitted. They came down last year with a scheme for the construction of a railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo, which was neither more nor less than a consideration offered to British Columbia for the abandonment of the main Pacific Railway, and this year, with the same end in view, they made offer to the authorities of that Province of a grant of \$750,000. If, instead of having been promptly and emphatically refused by British Columbia, as that offer was, it had been submitted to the consideration of this House, he had not the slightest doubt it also would be thrown out. He (Mr. Macpherson) was influenced in the course he was pursuing by no party considerations in the sense in which partizanship was generally understood. He denied that such existed to any extent in this House. There were no great political issues before the country just now. The question which really concerned the country was one of administration, the capacity or incapacity of the present Government to administer the public affairs of Canada. Upon that subject he had a very decided opinion, for he thought it had been amply demonstrated by their party negotiations

with British Columbia, and their disturbing but weak administration generally, that they were not the men to lead this country to the development of her great resources which we had the right to look forward to in the near future. They had been spending large sums of money uselessly, not only in this country, but also in Europe; these nominally to promote emigration, while their whole policy had the effect of discouraging it. There was no room to doubt that this continual wrangling and disputation with British Columbia had had the very worst effect upon the tide of immigration, tending as it did to create distrust and weaken confidence in the good faith of the country. These things were well known on the other side of the Atlantic, and very widely discussed.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—By the emigrants?

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON said—Yes, by the emigrants, who were not so ignorant as the hon. gentleman seemed to think. He thought this sneer came with bad grace from the Minister of Agriculture, the head of the Immigration Department. These people believed that Canada, or at least the Government of Canada for the time being, had abandoned the Pacific railway, and thus made impossible the large demand for the labour of emigrants which would otherwise have existed. He believed this was the chief reason why immigration had fallen off so much. The House, he remarked, had been trying to get information from the Ministry all this session upon the subject of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and they had failed to get it. The returns which ought to have been brought down early in the session had not yet made their appearance, and the facts which ought to have been communicated to the House at the earliest possible opportunity had not yet been communicated. If the explanations of hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Benches had only been taken down verbatim, and so read now to the House, it would be impossible to conceive of a jumble more inconsistent and contradictory than they would present. He differed with the Government entirely upon this railway question. It was not a British Columbian question, either solely or chiefly, but a Dominion question. The Secretary of State got up in his place, and informed the House of how liberally the Government had treated British Columbia, and of how anxious they were that the people of

that Province should be satisfied and content. It was not for the sole interest of British Columbia that the Pacific Railway was projected, but that the Dominion might have a great Inter-Oceanic highway of her own. He differed with the Government, because they took a narrow, contracted view of the question, and he warned them, even had British Columbia declared herself ready to accept the sop which was held out to her as compensation for the Railway, the great body of the people of this country would not have been satisfied, but on the contrary profoundly dissatisfied and indignant. Of course British Columbia had grave cause to complain on account of the delay in carrying out the agreement with her, especially in view of the haste displayed by the Government in placing under contract the Georgian Bay Branch. Ministers regarded a complete survey as of prime necessity in British Columbia—and in this he agreed with them—but why do they not pursue the same policy with reference to the Georgian Bay Branch Railway? They had actually entered into contract for the construction of that road, not only without a survey, and where it would be utterly useless, but where it was impossible to build it, except at enormous cost. The first twenty-six miles from the mouth of the French River eastward was a bare rock—naked granite—upon which even the most stunted weed would not grow. Why was it not as necessary to survey this line as thoroughly as that in British Columbia, before putting it under contract? And, moreover, it was not a part of the main line. There was a treaty with British Columbia to build the railway, which might have accounted for, if it would not have excused, some undue haste on the part of the Ministers, had they incurred some risk in proceeding with the work in that Province, but there was no treaty affecting the Georgian Bay Branch. No treaty; no trade, and no part of British Columbia could possibly be less fertile or less populated than the country through which the Georgian Bay Branch would pass, if built, and yet, in the latter case, a contract for its construction had been entered into before the line had been surveyed—a contract, by the way, which the very facts he recited had since compelled the Government to cancel. And now they talked about making the terminus twenty-six miles up the French River, and building a lock to make that river navigable to the Georgian Bay. Did the Government actually believe that

propellers from the lakes would be diverted from their course to go even into the mouth of French River, not to speak of twenty-six miles inland? Surely not. It had been charged that this was being made a party question in this House. He denied that he and his friends regarded it from a party point of view in the sense in which that was generally understood. But the difficulty with British Columbia had arisen out of a party question—or more properly speaking out of party defection on the Ministerial side—a party mutiny he might call it. It was a very serious defection, for it was led by a great captain, a member of the other house, whose influence extended to this House, and caused the defeat of the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway Bill last session. The Hon. Secretary of State had appealed to the House, and especially to the members of the late Government—with whom he (Mr. Macpherson) had differed on their Railway policy—to support the Government on that occasion, on the ground that an Order in Council had been passed by the late Government, declaring Esquimalt the western terminus of the Pacific Railway. The House had also been told that had these hon. gentlemen and their friends supported the measure, it would have been carried. But Ministers should look for support to those upon whom they had some claim, and it was because their friends refused to support their Bill that it was defeated. The Government had no claim upon the members of the late Government or their supporters, or upon a gentleman like him, (Mr. Macpherson) who wished to see our great Northern Railway proceeded with, for support for that measure. It was not one for constructing or advancing the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but for obtaining the consent of British Columbia to the abandonment of that railway. That consent was not obtained. He (Mr. Macpherson) would oppose all expenditure in British Columbia except that made in building the main line of the railway, or provided for in the agreement with that Province. The hon. gentleman from Montreal (Mr. Penny) had suggested that it would not be respectful to the House to submit the measure again. No one in the House had a more intimate acquaintance with public affairs than the hon. gentleman, and surely he did not pretend seriously to assert that it was not quite usual to submit measures session

after session which were believed by the Government to be for the interest of the country. He gave the Nova Scotia County Court Judges Bill of last session as an example.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT—That Bill was thrown out last year for special reasons.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON said every Bill that was thrown out was thrown out for special reasons, and the Esquimalt and Nanaimo railway Bill was no exception to the rule. That it should not be reintroduced was, he had no doubt, one of the conditions upon which the defection had been overcome, and the ranks of the Government party closed up. Why was the decision of Parliament so scrupulously regarded with reference to this particular measure, while it was so openly disregarded when the Georgian Bay Branch was in question. That the Government had a powerful political reason for urgency with the latter—although a reason they dared not make known to Parliament—he had very firmly believed. He also believed they originally intended to reintroduce the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Bill, and it was very safe to presume that it was a party arrangement arrived at during the recess, which was fatal to that railway. The fact that the Government ordered steel rails to be shipped to Vancouver Island after the Bill authorizing the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway had been lost proved that the Government then intended to renew their endeavour to carry out this arrangement with British Columbia; and intended to apply again to Parliament to do so. Unless they intended to do this, the shipment of rails after the loss of the railway Bill was an act deserving the censure of Parliament. But he believed the truth was the difficulty among their friends had to be appeased, and one of these (Mr. Macmaster) who was most conspicuous for his opposition to the Railway Bill, and contributed to its loss in that House last session, only a few days ago made an ostentatious profession of his renewed allegiance to the Government. But among the conditions on which peace had been restored were, he firmly believed, the sacrifice of British Columbia and the abandonment of the Canadian Pacific Railway, so far as these objects could be accomplished by the present Government. He (Mr. Macpherson) did not regret the loss of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Bill, for he would have voted against it had the opportunity offered this year, as he did last.

Hon. Mr. PENNY—So would I.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON continued that it was a curious circumstance, after the rails for the Esquimalt road were at Victoria, the Government should have abandoned the project, and offered \$750,000 to keep the people of British Columbia quiet. The reason was perfectly apparent. Hon. gentlemen must not suppose that the members of this House were unable to draw their inferences from these circumstances and the others which happened concurrently. However, he believed that all would turn out for the best in the end, like most other things—that a wise Providence would bring out of these occurrences results which would tend to the benefit of this people and country. Although the Government deserved no credit for the part they took, what had been done would he believed arouse the country to the short comings of the Government, and would lead to the early prosecution of the Pacific Railway—just as early and as fast as the circumstances of the country would admit. It was very evident that a great change had come over the views of the Government and their supporters upon this question during the debate. In the early part of it—and he remarked a similar tone in the debates in another place—nothing was said about the Pacific Railway except to the discredit of the undertaking; now their tone was entirely changed, and all the latter speakers in that hon. House admitted that the construction of the Pacific Railway was desirable, and that it ought to be proceeded with steadily, and as rapidly as the circumstances of the country would permit.

Hon. Mr. PENNY—I say of it now what I said before.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—Did I not understand the hon. gentleman to say that he was in favour of the Pacific Railway?

Hon. Mr. PENNY—I said I believed its construction desirable—but impossible with our resources.

Hon. Mr. KAULBACK moved, seconded by Hon. Mr. MILLER, that the debate be adjourned.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said this matter had been arranged to suit the views of hon. gentlemen opposite, after he had, strictly speaking, fallen to the ground. He protested against the prolongation of the debate under the circumstances.

After some further desultory discussion, the motion for adjournment of the debate was carried.

Hon. Mr. KAULBACH, resuming the adjourned debate on the Hon. Mr. Dickey's amendment to the amendment of the Hon. Mr. Haythorne, to the motion of the Hon. Mr. Carrall—to resolve:—That the construction of the Pacific Railway having formed the principal condition upon which British Columbia entered the Canadian Confederation, every reasonable effort should have been made by the Government of the Dominion to satisfy the people of that Province that faith would be kept with them; but this House regrets to find that while incurring, or ready to incur immediately expenditures of several millions of dollars not needed or of doubtful utility, the Government has failed to proceed vigorously with the construction of our great national interoceanic railway, which is so essential to the material advancement of all the Provinces of the Dominion as well as to the early consolidation of political and social union among the whole people. He said, after the many and very able speeches he had the pleasure of listening to on the resolution before the House, he felt great diffidence in soliciting his hon. friends to give him their attention, even on the promise he now gave to condense and shorten his remarks as much as possible. Since the time that the union of British North America under one Parliament and one constitution became the fixed and determined policy of its statesmen and these Provinces became united; since the time the hon. gentlemen from the Atlantic to the Pacific, who now heard him, first met here in Parliament, there never had been a subject before them of such magnitude and importance as that of the Pacific Railway. Viewing it, no matter how they each might, yet every hon. gentleman to whose remarks he had listened had not failed to view it as a federal work of Imperial and national importance. He might except, perhaps, his hon. friend from Montreal, not now in his seat, who seemed to have no faith in it, but yet that hon. gentleman did not venture on repudiation, well knowing as he must that to break faith with any—even the smallest of the Provinces—to say to it “we have no need of you,” would be to loosen the cord that united us, and impair hopes of our future to which we cling. We must not forget, that as yet we were as a bundle of sticks loosely tied together, that we could not permit repudiation, which means disintegration, that as a Dominion the hopes of our future greatly depend upon the development of

the resources of our great West and British Columbia, which could only be accomplished by the construction of this great Interoceanic railway on the full faith, not only in the ability but also in the integrity of the country, to accomplish this great work upon which we had entered. He would not occupy the time of the House in remarking upon the great value of British Columbia as a part of this Dominion, occupying as it did the same importance on the Pacific as Nova Scotia did on the Atlantic; neither would he dwell on the importance to this Dominion of its mines of coal, iron and gold, or its great fisheries as yet undeveloped, but would pass on to the question now before the House. They were first asked to resolve that the construction of the Pacific Railway formed the principal condition upon which British Columbia entered this Confederation. They certainly could not have any hesitation in coming to that resolution; it had not been gainsaid that there was a distinct and specific agreement with that Province on the faith of which it entered the union, that a railway should be constructed from a point on the Pacific sea board, to be fixed by the Governor in Council, through British territory to eastern Canada, to be built as a federal work by the Dominion. (Hear, hear.) The telegram from British Columbia at that time declared that “no real union could exist without speedy communication,” and they must have all seen that the union without such a reasonable and proper communication would be neither desirable nor proper. (Hear, hear.) The treaty was entered into between British Columbia and Canada in 1870, to which the Imperial Government was a party, and loaned the Dominion £2,500,000 in aid of uniting and welding “together all the British North American Provinces from sea to sea. The term, ten years, fixed to complete the railway, was understood simply as a guarantee that the Government were in earnest and determined that the road should be completed as speedily as possible, but not to advance the work faster than our resources would admit or the engineering difficulties could be overcome. It was well known that the railway was to be constructed through a *terra incognita*, and that it would have been the extreme of madness and ruin to all parties to determine on any positive time for its completion. (Hear, hear.) He would in-

vite the attention of the House to a short extract from the speech of the hon. the mover of the resolution in 1871, providing for the admission of British Columbia into the union, in confirmation of this position. He had said: "It was not intended that we should proceed in the face of insuperable obstacles or jeopardize or endanger the resources of the country." It must be remembered that the people of British Columbia will stand in precisely the same position as we ourselves; their representatives will be here and in the other branch equally interested in the prosperity and economical administration of public affairs. We mention the time of ten years as a guarantee that we were in earnest and the intention has always been the same, the construction of the road by private enterprise and such aid as we could give without injuriously burthening the resources of Canada. The present Government could not say that their predecessors made the ten years limit imperative. He felt quite confident that no hon. gentleman on either side of the House would dissent from that part of the motion of his hon. friend from Amherst which would have them affirm that this House fully recognized the obligations of the Dominion to secure the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway with the utmost speed compatible with a due regard to the other financial requirements of the Dominion, and without unduly increasing the rate of taxation. The Government of Sir John Macdonald should be commended for the resolution they passed in 1871, shortly after the terms of union were agreed upon. It was in effect that the Pacific Railway should be constructed and worked by a company subsidized by liberal grants of land, money, or other aid not increasing the existing rate of taxation. By this resolve Canada had been saved from any exorbitant or ruinous demand, should British Columbia ever desire to have the railway pushed forward to the injury of the Dominion, of which she was to form a part. Hon. gentlemen were all aware of the favourable contract that had been entered into by Sir Hugh Allan, by which we were pledged to the extent of \$30,000,000 in money, and it could not be gainsaid that Sir John honestly endeavoured by every means to carry out the project. It was now a matter of history the manner in which that contract failed. All political parties were bound to the completion of the railway, yet it was a notorious fact that the present Govern-

ment rode into power by scheming and intriguing to crush that great undertaking, and it came with bad grace from the Hon. Secretary of State the other day, when he said the present Opposition put party first and country afterwards. He would now endeavour to show the ruinous policy, the inconsistency and incapacity of the Government in grappling with this work, the completion of which was so essential to our existence as a Dominion and our growth as a happy and prosperous people. In the Minute of Council of the 30th of March, the Government referred to the terms of union with British Columbia as "those ruinous terms," and it would be remembered that the contract for the building of the railway was based on those terms yet the Minister of Agriculture the other day, in addressing this honourable body, stated that the land scheme did not offer sufficient inducements, while it was well known that this Government not only defeated the scheme but undertook, as a Government, to build the railway as a Government work, increasing therefor the taxation of the country some three millions of dollars, and also passed an Act to add forty millions of dollars to the public debt; and in addition agreeing to build a local railway on Vancouver's Island, to cost this country some unknown number of millions of dollars more, and complete the Pacific Railway in fourteen years. Yet they would now tell the House that the railway was to be built on the express condition that the taxation of the country should not be increased. (Hear, hear.) Hon. gentlemen would agree with him that the Government were only bound when they took office to prosecute the construction of the Pacific Railway with vigour and speed consistent with the difficulties to be encountered, and they were not bound to have the railway completed in ten years; yet they found the Government insidiously endeavouring to make the country believe that the road could not be built, while, as he had shown, they had added immensely to the burthens of our debts and the taxation of the country. What further did the reports and papers before the House show? They had first a letter from the Prime Minister to Mr. Edgar, dated 19th February, 1874, instructing him to proceed to British Columbia and let the people of Vancouver's Island understand that the Government were not bound to build the railway on that Island, and further to seek to obtain by any and all means any

terms. Then we have Mr. Edgar's letter addressed to the Attorney General of British Columbia, dated the 8th of May following, in which he offered, on behalf of this Government, to instantly build a local railroad on the Island which would cost about five millions of dollars, and in addition to spend \$1,500,000 every year in British Columbia on the Pacific Railway, also to construct a telegraph and waggon road, provided that British Columbia did not hold them to the ten years limit. The following was one of the clauses in that letter:—"The 11th article of the terms of union embodies the bold proposition that the railway shall be commenced in two and completed in ten years from the date of union, to connect the sea board of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada. Feeling the impossibility of complying with this time limit for completion, the Government are prepared to make new stipulations and enter into additional obligations of a definite character for the benefit of the Province. They propose to commence the construction of the road from Esquimalt to Nanaimo immediately, and to push that portion of the Railway on to completion with the utmost vigour, and in the shortest practicable time." The British Columbia Government declined to consider this offer unless the Agent showed his official authority to contract for the Dominion. What was the next devious course of the Government? Instead of seeking from this Parliament support and advice, they found the Ministry referring the whole matter to the arbitration of Lord Carnarvon, who, on the 17th November, 1874, awarded that the Railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo should be commenced as soon as possible and completed with all practicable despatch; that a waggon road and telegraph line should be immediately constructed; that two million dollars a year should be the minimum expenditure on the Pacific Railway within British Columbia, and, lastly, that on or before the 31st December, 1890, the Railway should be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point at the western end of Lake Superior. And now, to crown all, what did the country find? That this Government, on the 8th of December, 1874, by Minute of Council, approved of the award, and it would suffice to read the two clauses: "The conclusion at which His Lordship has arrived, upholds, as he remarks, in the main, and subject only to some modi-

fications of detail, the policy dictated by the Government on this most embarrassing question." The Committee of the Council respectfully request that your Excellency would be pleased to convey to Lord Carnarvon their warm appreciation of the kindness which led His Lordship to render his good offices to effect a settlement of the matter in dispute, and also to assure His Lordship that every effort will be made to secure the realization of what is expected." Comment on this would be unnecessary. If ever any set of men attempted to hurl a country into bankruptcy and ruin, this Government, by this transaction, did it; and, but for the action of the Senate last session, this Dominion would have been irrevocably bound to construct the Pacific Railway in fifteen years, no matter what difficulties, physical or otherwise, might stand in the way. They would have to construct the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway immediately at a cost of nobody knew how much, but say \$5,000,000, which the Government in the Minute of Council of September, 1875, declared did not form a portion of the Pacific Railway, but was essentially a local work. They were also to construct a waggon road and telegraph line, besides expending not less than two millions of dollars every year on the Pacific Railway in British Columbia. How could the Government now dare to hedge themselves under the plea of no additional taxation? As he had said before they had saved the country in this Senate from untold burthen and enormous taxation. It was too late now for this Government to hedge themselves by declaring that they were controlled by the terms of the resolution of 1871. He had already shown that they by their action had ignored that resolution by offering new terms to British Columbia, imposed additional obligations, and increased taxation in the Dominion. The preamble to the Pacific Railway Act of 1874 declared that this Government had increased our taxation three millions of dollars to make provision for the constructing of the Pacific Railway as rapidly as possible, and the Act passed the same year authorized a loan of forty millions of dollars, and recited the terms of union as its chief reason for borrowing that money. This money was borrowed on the Imperial guarantee, and was obtained exclusively for the Pacific Railway. Even that money had been diverted from the objects for which it was intended, and devoted partly to paying Dominion debts and building canals, and a large quantity was

squandered in the steel rails job. (Hear, hear). He felt free to state that he did not consider the Government were very anxious that their Bill to construct the local railway from Esquimalt to Nanaimo should pass the Senate last year. Hon. gentlemen well knew the action of the Government supporters in this House on that Bill, and could form their own conclusions. It was evident that the great Aurora speech had something to do with the matter. The action of the Government, on the other hand, showed not only political incapacity and want of security, but a blunder of a kind of which sane men would scarcely be guilty, and he felt that the members of the Government in this House ought to join at least in that part of the resolution of his hon. friend from Amherst which expressed regret that the course adopted by the Government in connection with this matter had not met the expectations of the people of British Columbia. They now came to the last part of the resolution, which was "that the course adopted by the Government in connection with this matter had not been such as to facilitate the development of the Northwest." Although it was essential that British Columbia should have this railway, and the faith of the Dominion was pledged to its construction in a reasonable time, yet it ought not to be looked at in a sectional way, but as essential to the development and consolidation of the Dominion. Therefore, from a Canadian point of view, it would be admitted that the Government had not paid that attention to pushing on the railway from Manitoba to the Northwest that its importance deserved, and it was a wonder that the settlers in that region continued to quietly suffer so long. It was our great field for immigration and population, and from which the Dominion expected to derive the first fruits of the railway construction. It could not be questioned, if the Government had proper confidence in themselves to honestly commence the work and realize the vast importance of the whole Dominion, the early settlement of the Red River and the great prairie country, and pursue a cautious, and yet a vigorous and determined policy; to grapple with the difficulties that confronted them instead of wasting all their energies in attempting to subsidise branch railways and to buy out British Columbia; they would not now be compelled in justice to the Northwest to declare this censure on the Government.

There was yet one act of the Government which could not be passed over in silence, it was the bribe of 750,000 lately offered to British Columbia in compensation for the indefinite postponement, not of the Vancouver Island Railway, but of the Pacific Railway. These were the words of the Minute in Council of September last: "That the compensation given then by Canada for any delays which may take place in the construction of the Pacific Railway." It was now they could look with feelings of pride to the large hearted patriotism of British Columbia, who spurned this bribe, and who could not be purchased with money to the amount of three quarters of a million of dollars, but in their reply they said that "disappointment, discouragement, and distress had taken possession of them by reason of the repeated violations by the Government of Canada of their engagements." Here were the words of the British Columbia representatives, of the people, through their Speaker, to Her Gracious Majesty, on the 29th of November last:—"A feeling of distrust has taken the place of the confident anticipations of commercial and political advantages to be derived from the speedy construction of the railway which should practically unite the Atlantic and Pacific shores of Your Majesty's Dominion on the continent of North America." These were the words of the people, burning with patriotism, who sought to maintain their connection with us and their treaty obligations, who said to us, as far as the Atlantic shores:—"We wish to be one with you in all the relations and advantages which the country possess; we wish to preserve our British connection here, and reap our share of the happiness and prosperity of that connection, and, if needs be, to share in the defence of the integrity of the country." He regarded the Government policy of utilising the water stretches as a scheme that could not be successful, for the route would be long and tedious, and even as a temporary policy must occasion a large expenditure of money to make connections with navigable waters or roads, which must ultimately be useless after the construction of a continuous rail route. Besides this, no possible way had been shown as to how the water sections could be used in winter—nearly six months in the year. The hon. member for Hopewell had pointed to the American Pacific Railway as a precaution to us, and stated that it went through a settled country, and it had other great advan-

tages. His belief was that that railway ran through a country which, for soil and climate, could not favourably compare with the line which we could construct, and that the engineering difficulties that the U. P. Railway had to overcome were infinitely greater than ours; yet that road had been a success. Settlements had been made, towns had sprung up along the route. As an instance of the beneficial effect of the construction of the railway, Chicago had doubled its population since the railway had been built. The country through which it passed was nothing to compare with our great West, and when we reached Victoria we would be a thousand miles nearer to China and Japan than the people of San Francisco. He had endeavoured in his poor way to make it plain that this country was never absolutely pledged to build the Pacific Railway within ten years; that the country only expected the Government should do everything that was reasonable and in their power to perform their engagements with British Columbia; that the present Government had never shown any faith in themselves, nor had they endeavoured to inspire the people of British Columbia with confidence that the Ministry were sincere and earnest in their work, but on the contrary, by every means in their power contrived to induce British Columbia to release them from their responsibility, and had wasted money on works in the name of the Pacific Railway that had nothing to do with it; that instead of diligently carrying on the explorations to determine on some objective points at which to commence the work they had sought to fix upon the Dominion greater obligations than had been bequeathed to them, and now endeavoured to make the country believe it was all owing to the faults and follies of their predecessors.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT stated that he only wished he could believe all that his hon. friend from Nova Scotia had said. He thought that it would be very unwise to pass any resolution in connection with this matter. On the Statute Book was a law by which the faith of the Dominion was pledged to build this railway, and it was on all sides agreed that this should be done without increasing taxation, but no one could think that such a culmination was within the bounds of possibility. He could not vote for any of the resolutions which had been submitted to the House, and a large number of the representatives in the other branch

of the legislature, who were directly responsible to the tax-payers, had decided to make use of the navigable waters with reference to this great work. Undoubtedly we had a great territory in the North-west and had expended large sums to induce immigrants to settle in it, and now we were called upon to pay large sums of money to support them. If that country was worth anything at all it had agricultural resources, but if it could not provide food for its people, he did not think that it was necessary to build this railway. When confederation was accomplished in 1867, our debt was \$93,046,051, and last year it had attained the figure of \$151,663,401.

Hon. Mr. MILLEK—Does not that include the debts of British Columbia, of Prince Edward Island, and of Manitoba; also the several millions taken from the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, proportionate sums being allowed the other old Provinces, as well as the debt contracted since confederation?

Hon. Mr. WILMOT replied that the fact remained, that our present debt amounted to \$151,663,401. He would mention that up to the end of last year, the sum of \$4,800,000 had been expended on the railways. We could not expect that it would be remunerative. He thought it would be hardly worth while for this branch of the Legislature, which did not represent the tax-payers, to pass a vote of censure on the Government for not having made more progress in this relation. He felt that it was unwise to run into debt by borrowing money in England. His hon. friend from Lunenburg had referred to what the Americans had done in a similar connection, but this had been done under the greenback system, which made a great deal of difference. We occupied the same position as the United States in 1837, when Rev. Sydney Smith wrote a letter with regard to the repudiation by Pennsylvania of its engagements. He hoped that the Dominion would never be compelled to follow this example.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—But my hon. friend forgets how that State triumphed over its difficulties, and how prosperous it is now.

Hon. Mr. WILMOT did not desire to ever see the stigma of repudiation attached to this country. He did not believe in borrowing money, save to the extent we could ourselves provide. In 1861 our realisable property amounted to four hundred millions; and since then it must

have largely increased in value. British Columbia could furnish the gold that might be required. This Province was very valuable to the Dominion; its climatic advantages were much greater than our own; it possessed a great variety of resources, and it was nearer to China and Japan than this section of the Dominion. A commercial crisis at present prevailed; and it was not wise to pass a resolution directly contrary to the verdict of the people at the last general elections. It was almost the height of absurdity to suppose that this railway could have been completed within ten years. He hoped that his hon. friend would withdraw his resolution.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST stated that this question ought to be considered from two points of view; the first was that which related to the obligation existing, owing to the engagement to build this railway, entered into with British Columbia; and the second that which compelled those who were opposed to this engagement to remain faithful to the solemn resolution of a majority of Parliament. At the time the proposition was made to annex British Columbia to the Dominion, every one was aware that both in this and the other House a strong opposition was offered to the conditions in question. This obligation, however, contracted, only one thing remained to be done: to fulfil the terms, and this was a duty. What were the conditions? That the road should be built within the space of ten years. Afterwards a resolution passed both Houses, declaring that the prosecution of this work should not involve any increase of taxation. He maintained that this agreement had been faithfully observed by both the late and present Governments. The late Cabinet had resolved to build the line by means of a company; one was organised, but it failed to raise a loan for the purpose. In the meantime, explorers had been sent out to locate the route. Then another event occurred; the Government, of which his hon. friend from Kingston was a member, in order to conciliate the irritated spirit of British Columbia, and as a sort of equivalent for the delays that had taken place, passed an order in Council providing for the construction of the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway. Seven months, in addition to the two years, during which time the railway was to have been commenced, had expired, when the change of Government took place.

The present Administration considered that under the circumstances it was necessary to adopt a line of conduct which would not involve useless expenditure, while, on the other hand, they felt that it was their duty to provide the most easy means of communication with the North-West Territory, in order to promote its settlement, and this object was always kept in view, and every one knew how desirable this was. At the general election which followed the accession of the Premier to power, the latter announced that the water-stretches would be utilised in connection with this project. He asked the House whether the policy inaugurated by the present Administration was not wise and advantageous and less costly than that of the late Government? At present certain hon. gentlemen seemed to wish to ridicule it, and to imply that those who did so had not at heart the well being of the country, and the due observance of economy in the administration of public affairs. One would imagine, from the expressions of its representatives, that the Province of Manitoba had been badly treated in this connection, but he believed that if any part of the country had been generously treated it was this very Province, and the Government deserved more consideration from its representatives. Another matter should also be considered by these hon. gentlemen—the agreement to construct the railway from Pembina to Fort Garry, providing new means of entering the North-West Territory. What right, therefore, had they to complain? They reproached the Government with taking advantage of foreign lines to send emigrants into that country; but how did the Administration endeavour to prevent the Americans obtaining the settlers, was it not to the advantage of that Province? Those who chose to shut their eyes to these facts might do so, but he regretted his hon. friends from Manitoba had taken such a position. The first step taken to open a line of communication with the Pacific had been most favourable to that Province, and next year all the means to reach it would be provided. It might be said that this route could only be used during the season of navigation, but at what other time could emigrants reach that country, leaving here as they generally did between the end of May and the end of September. They could be sent by rail and water to Prince Arthur's Landing, and thence by similar means to

Manitoba. This route was 200 miles shorter for reaching not only that Province, but the country beyond. If the Government had not intended to locate and build this railway, it would not have expended the money it had upon explorations, etc. There was another point which had formed the subject of many ill-founded comments he had let pass in silence. It was alleged that the policy of the Government was prejudicial to the interests of Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces, but this was not the case. It was also held that the Georgian Bay Branch was not a section of the Pacific Railway proper; and this he admitted, but a law had been passed directing that this line should be built on certain conditions. What was the object of this legislation? To establish the possibility of building this road between Lake Nipissing and the Eastern lines, and in what condition would central Canada and Quebec be placed if it was not built, becoming one of the links connecting these portions of the country with the Pacific Ocean? He asked the representatives of Quebec and of the Lower Provinces whether this policy militated against their interests. Without the Georgian Bay Railway the sacrifices which Quebec at present was making would be of no avail. It was extremely desirable that the hon. gentlemen who lived in that Province and Central Canada should understand the importance of the resolutions before the House. Those who wished to support the policy of the Opposition against the Government would seal the fate of the North Shore Railway. Should we ruin the future of Canada for the sole benefit of British Columbia? We should honestly fulfil our engagements with that Province, but in seeking to do so, we should not so affect our credit as to render that fulfilment impossible. Under these circumstances, we should act with prudence, and within our means. The hon. gentlemen for British Columbia should act in harmony with those who are endeavouring to give them the means of succeeding and accomplishing the object they had in view. His hon. friend from Toronto had stated, the other day, that it was absurd to think of building the Georgian Bay Branch, when no exploration of the line had been made; but to this he would reply, that the hon. gentleman had formerly supported the scheme for constructing the whole Pacific Railway when not a single inch of the route had been surveyed. What were such arguments worth? No-

thing; it would have been better if the hon. gentleman had not used them.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—I never said that.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—If the hon. gentleman says so, very well.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—I said that an entirely different policy had been pursued in British Columbia to that with respect to the Georgian Bay Branch. With regard to the former, the hon. gentleman and the Administration said that nothing could be done until a thorough survey had taken place, of which I quite approve, but they did not follow the same course with the Georgian Bay Branch. The contract was given when not a foot of the line had been surveyed, and was afterwards cancelled.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST asked how was the hon. gentleman willing, under the circumstances, to have the contract awarded before any exploration was made? The objection the hon. gentleman raised applied with greater force to this than to the other case. The Government had spent nearly \$2,000,000 on the railway and \$8,000 last year in surveys over the Rocky Mountains; and in presence of these exertions to keep good faith, how could it be reasonably said that they did not desire to fulfil their obligations? The portion of the road near the Pacific shore had not yet been decided upon; these regions were comparatively unknown, and an error in engineering might entail the cost of an additional \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000. The country, if the opportunity was given it, would declare that no useless expenditure should be incurred.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—We are all of the same opinion on this point.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST could not then understand why the hon. gentleman could not perceive that the present Government was doing all it could in this connection. The Ministry could not perform impossibilities. The responsibility of originating the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway scheme had been thrown on the Government. This was most unjust. Great discontent had prevailed in British Columbia owing to the delays that had taken place with reference to the commencement of this railway, and what had the Ministry done? They passed an Order in Council declaring that a railway on the other side of the Narrows, between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, would be built as part of the Pacific line, though the law did not authorize them to incur an

obligation which would necessitate the expenditure of at least a further \$5,000,000. The present Premier, after taking office, was called upon by British Columbia to build this railway owing to the promises made by his predecessors. The Cabinet replied that no such obligation existed. And what was the answer? That it was promised as compensation for the delays mentioned. It was the duty of the Government to conciliate as far as possible the people of that Province. Mr. Edgar was sent out there with this end in view, and nothing save the construction of this railway would satisfy them. Later Lord Carnarvon included it in the conditions in the way of compensation, and it would have been very difficult to refuse the intervention of the noble lord. The Government accordingly considered it their duty to introduce the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Bill, which passed through the House of Commons with the aid of the Opposition. They knew what the fate of the Bill was in that House. It was alleged that the Government had urged their friends there to vote against it; but this was not the case, and the hon. gentleman from Montreal, one of their friends, who so voted, had announced in the Chamber that he had been solicited by a member of the Administration to support the measure. The hon. gentleman had not said by whom he had been so requested, but he would add that this was himself. The Government had made every effort to secure the passage of the Bill. A friend of the late Administration in the House of Commons had recently stated that, after consenting to support it in the Chamber, he came there with the consent of Sir John Macdonald to induce their friends to vote against the Bill. Could it then be said that the Government desired its rejection? Censure, in this relation, fell on the Opposition. The declaration, to which he alluded, had been made on Friday last in the House of Commons, by the hon. member for Cumberland, and it must certainly edify the hon. gentlemen from British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—The hon. gentleman is quite mistaken. Sir John Macdonald, as far as I know, requested no one to vote against the Bill, neither did the hon. member for Cumberland; nor do I know that either did anything whatever in this connection.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST—I did not say that Sir John Macdonald suggested it; but the Hon. Mr. Tupper,

in reply to Hon. Mr. Blake, said that, though he aided to pass this Bill, before that House, he came here to suggest, with the approval of Sir John Macdonald, who was sitting at his side when he made this statement—that it should be thrown out.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL—Was that said by the hon. gentleman himself?

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST replied—Yes, in presence of Sir John Macdonald—Political feeling was betrayed in the motion before the House, which, if carried, would be a vote of want of confidence. This it was useless to try to conceal; and if the vote was hostile, it would be declared that the Government had been censured in the Senate with regard to its Pacific Railway policy. The hon. gentlemen from British Columbia should exhibit a proper degree of patience, seeing that the Government was endeavouring to carry to a successful completion this great national work, but he did not think that they would desire this at the risk of bringing ruin upon the Dominion. A few years ago, when in opposition, he had made every effort to defeat the Pacific Railway scheme; but today he held that it was his duty to assist in observing the solemn engagement existing between the Dominion and the Province of British Columbia. It was not intended that this House should pass votes of want of confidence on administrations; and when, as might happen, the political complexion of the majority might be reversed, and the Cabinet being changed, the majority of that body placed in opposition, they might follow the bad example which might now be set them. The present majority should be careful as to the attitude they assumed. He could not refrain from believing that to party spirit was due the resolutions under consideration, and he hoped that the motions would be withdrawn, hon. gentlemen having been furnished with an opportunity for expressing their opinions in this regard. If the motion was carried, it would imply a vote of want of confidence, and its result would be to embarrass the Government.

Hon. Mr. GIRARD, as the Minister of Agriculture alluded to his expressions of opinion, requested the indulgence of the House, in order to give him the opportunity of making a reply. The hon. gentleman dwelt upon favours extended to the Province of Manitoba, but he would remind the hon. gentleman that he represented, not only that Province, but also the Dominion. It was conse-

quently his duty to take the general interests of the country into consideration. Despite what the hon. gentleman might say, he was not influenced by party feeling in taking the position he did. He always regretted to express views in opposition to the policy of the Government; but nevertheless he was in duty bound, as well as others, to make known his opinions to the Administration, in order that occasion might be given for reforming an improper policy, or rendering more justice to the country. He had stated the other day, and he did not then hesitate to repeat that the policy of the Ministry, with reference to the construction of the Pacific Railway, was tortuous, expensive, and unwise. Their first step had been to resolve to utilise the water stretches, but the result would be that the money spent in this relation might as well be thrown into the sea. The country required a direct line from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, extending our commerce, and giving us access to the riches of the East. When the Government had been requested to locate the route so as to pass close to Fort Garry and to the south of Lake Manitoba, what was the reply given to the various delegates? "You have no right to it; this is not your road but the railway of the Dominion."

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST JUST—Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. GIRARD—The hon. gentleman exclaimed "hear, hear," but in this he heartily agreed with the Ministry—the road was not for Manitoba but for the Dominion, in virtue of the resolution adopted in the year 1871. If a change had not taken place in the Cabinet, a portion of the line at the present time would undoubtedly have been built, and the route at least surveyed throughout. A resolution in existence stated that it should be built without rendering any increase of taxation necessary, and what had in reality given umbrage to the people of British Columbia had been the hesitation shown by the Government to give them justice. The Administration, when they determined upon the construction of the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, adopted an unsound policy, and when the Bill was rejected a great service was done the country. The intention of the Ministry, as far as he could see, had been, had that Bill passed, to postpone for a long time the construction of this railway. They did not wish to involve the country in enormous liabilities.

He regretted the position in which he found himself; and he protested strongly against the insinuations thrown out from time to time to the effect that he and others, members of that body, were inspired by political motives. He, for his part, could not see how party spirit could exist in this Chamber. He would give his opinions frankly. He conceived that it was his duty to follow the policy of the Government with the greatest interest; and he would have much rather preferred to have felicitated than condemned—as he was obliged to do—the course taken in this relation by the Administration.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the hon. gentleman (Mr. Letellier) had stated that Sir John Macdonald had said in the other House that after voting for the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Bill, he advised his friends in the Senate to vote against it. He (Mr. Campbell) had written to the hon. member for Cumberland, asking him if such was the case, and his reply was:—"No, what I said was, 'as the Government had voted down my resolution requiring them to submit contracts to this House, I said that if Sir John and I voted against the third reading, and our friends in the Senate voted against the Bill, there would be nothing inconsistent in it.'"

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said he had not stated positively that the hon. gentleman had said that he had asked his friends in this House to vote against the Bill, but he had suggested it.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said the denial was complete on that point.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—To whom did he make that suggestion? Not to me.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said, in reply to Mr. Blake, the hon. gentleman had stated that he had suggested to his friends in the Senate to vote against the Bill.

Hon. Mr. PRICE said he understood Mr. Blake had asked his own friends to do the same thing.

Hon. Mr. SUTHERLAND, after reviewing some historical points in connection with the entry of the North-West into the Confederation, said that if Canada had not been so hasty in taking hold of the Province the people would have had it in their own hands to-day, without it costing the country a single cent. The Hudson Bay Company and their officials had begun to find out, previous to the transfer, that it was impossible to govern the territory. The Governor told him so

himself frequently, and they would have had to give it up. It was a sore question with the people of Manitoba, and with many other people; he believed it would have been better to leave it to oblivion. The settlers were also very much dissatisfied with the land policy of the Government; it was not that the policy was not good enough in itself but it had not been carried out. He had always been of the opinion that the building of the railway had been a mistake; the Thunder Bay Branch could not be utilized as a portion of the main line without making a detour of some sixty miles. He feared that the Government had over-estimated the advantages of the water-stretches, as when the Pembina Branch was constructed it would take the business, and the other railway would be closed five or six months out of the year. Then the line from Rat Portage had been run to the north east corner of the Province the most worthless part of it, and the immigrants coming to Winnipeg by that route would have to travel twenty-three miles up Red River to get to Winnipeg, and none of the lands in that section of the Province would be located until all the lands in the Saskatchewan were taken up.

Hon. Mr. PRICE called attention to the remark of the Minister of Agriculture that the Opposition themselves in that House were actuated by a party, factious spirit, although the members were not responsible to the people. He disclaimed all such motives on his part, and said he felt that he was there in the position of a judge and not as a party man. He was one of those who had supported the Pacific scheme of the late Government and if it had been carried out as proposed by them, they would now have had a railway built half way to British Columbia. The present Government should have adopted that policy instead of spending the money in taking a gentleman out of this House to give him a job.

Hon. gentlemen—Oh, Oh, Oh!

Hon. Mr. PRICE—Yes, a job; a man who was the principal cause of the fall of the late Government, and they gave him this contract as a bribe.

Hon. gentlemen—Oh, Oh!

Hon. Mr. PRICE said—He would state it again; if it had not been for that man, and the jealousies of a rival railway, the Pacific Road would have been now built half way to the Rocky Mountains. He was satisfied that the explorations that

were now being made were more with a view to defeat the railway than anything else.

Hon. Mr. FABRE—I regret that the movers of the motion and amendment submitted to our consideration have not followed the good example given them by my hon. friend from La Vallière, and withdrawn them. It seems to me that any useful purpose or legitimate object they might have in view has been obtained, as full opportunity has been afforded to the representatives of British Columbia in this House to lay before the Senate and the country the views entertained in their own Province on the policy of the Government in relation to the Pacific Railway. The case has been ably and fully laid before us. We now ignore nothing that we ought to know on the subject. We first heard our honourable colleague for Cariboo (Hon. Mr. Carrall). He spoke with such earnestness and conviction that he must have made an impression even on the minds of those who are very far from entertaining the same views as himself. He went so far as to deny to himself the pleasure of making, and to deprive us of the pleasure of hearing, some of these witty remarks of which he is so fond, and for the first time since I have had the honour of occupying a seat in this House, I saw him looking as grave as a Senator. He has been ably supported by his two colleagues from British Columbia, and the question has been fully ventilated. But if the hon. gentlemen are decided to force a vote upon us on this question, I beg to tell them, respectfully but frankly, that I think they are wrong. Columbia has nothing to gain by following that course, and it seems to me that the Senate has something to lose by it. I may be wrong, and in this case the more experienced and wiser men I see around me will pardon me; but I conceive that it is not the part assigned by the spirit, if not by the letter, of the constitution to this honourable body, to throw itself into the political arena with the ardour of youth, and the hasty spirit that animates the popular branch, and to try to wrest the power from those who have received it from the hands of the people, and to thwart the policy which has obtained the support of the other House. Our duty, our part, I humbly submit, is not to vote non-confidence in the Government, to defeat it on its general policy; but to control legislation, and correct measures as they come before us. We must avoid coming into con-

flict with the other House on what must seem to every one its special privilege. Now, honourable gentlemen, let us ask ourselves what will be the consequence if we adopt the Hon. Mr. Carrall's resolution as amended by the Hon. Mr. Dickey? Why? it will place us in direct opposition to the House of Commons, whose sentiment appeared clearly enough when the same question was discussed the other day in that House, we know with what result; and I am very much mistaken if it is to the course proposed to us that the country would give its sanction. The prevailing sentiment in the other House, and certainly in my own Province, is just now that it would have been better if, after the fall of the conservative ministry, the idea of constructing the Pacific had been at once abandoned.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—I contest that.

Hon. Mr. FABRE—I claim that I must know a little more about my own Province than a member from British Columbia. I repeat that the Liberal government would have found more favour among its friends, and more favour among the people, if it had on all subjects adopted a more radical policy, broken at once and decidedly with the engagements and line of policy of its predecessor. Certainly, a great number of us felt disappointed when we heard the Ministry announce that in so many things they would adhere to the policy of the Conservative Ministry. In relation to the Pacific Railway specially, we would have wished that the Government would have taken a more decided attitude, and told at once to British Columbia that, though very desirous of keeping her in the bonds of Confederation, we could not afford to keep her at the cost of constructing the Pacific Railway.

Hon. Mr. MACPHERSON—Is that the opinion of your present Leader, the Hon. President of the Council?

Hon. Mr. FABRE—I express my own opinions, not those of others. But, hon. gentlemen, if this radical course has not been followed, is it for the members of the Conservative party, is it for British Columbia to complain? If a milder course has been adopted; if since two years with a zeal and a patience, before threats, that everyone ought to admire, the Government has tried its utmost to conciliate the interest of Columbia with that of the country at large, has applied itself to find a proper solution to the difficulty, and has succeeded so far as to obtain from a large number of members of the Liberal party, who do not believe in the

scheme, their support for measures which you call insufficient, but which to many of us appear very hard to concede, I say, ought you not at least to accord the Government justice for manly and loyal efforts? Certainly, if we take into consideration the relative state of opinion in the Liberal and in the Conservative party, it is but justice to say that the present Government has shown as much sympathy for British Columbia as its predecessors. It has worked hard in her favour against the current of public opinion, which would have gladly seen the whole Pacific scheme carried away in the Allan scandal, and in the downfall of the Macdonald Government. Please recall to your memory the events and sentiments of two years ago, and see if, at that time, the repudiation of all obligations towards British Columbia would not have been met with a nearly universal approval? The Conservative party was too weak then to be of any use to British Columbia. It had by its bad management, by its corrupt bargain with Sir Hugh Allan's agent rendered her cause unpopular; her case hopeless. If British Columbia had not been then assisted by the men in power, by the leaders of the Liberal party in power, it would to-day be out of Confederation, if her threats are sincere; or deprived of any hope of ever having anything to alleviate the sorrow she seemed to have felt in the trying hour she decided to join us. With due regard to the majority of this House, it appears to me that this great question has been approached with more rashness than fairness. I fail to find in many of the declarations I have heard that wisdom, prudence, and foresight which ought to characterize all the utterances of a body of men of so large an experience and so high a character. I have had to listen with amazement to some of the speeches made in this House. Why, some of us speak of this gigantic scheme as if it was a matter of course the easiest thing in the world, a kind of a branch railway between two not distant points. Are they really serious, or simply applying for support from British Columbia in the present very great need of the Conservative party? If they really felt as much interest for British Columbia as they pretend, they would not treat such a subject so lightly, with so little regard for obstacles that must appear to every reflecting mind frightful, tremendous. The fact is that to carry the gigantic work through, must take years and years; it is only with

great caution that we can proceed in the interest of the enterprise itself, because any grave mistake would be a death-blow to the scheme. If ever, by the fault of a scheme so distasteful to many, the country falls into embarrassment,—as would be inevitably the case if the Government followed the advice given them by some of the speakers,—it will be done with the whole thing, and British Columbia will have to mourn the irreparable loss of the enterprise. The leaders of the Conservative party felt this when they had the responsibility of office. We have been informed, by the best authorities, that it was never thought of to adhere to the term of ten years fixed for the completion of the work. It was only put there to defy public opinion, I suppose, and to show that nothing was beyond the reach of our statesmen. It was a *bravado*, something like an immense puff, to give to outsiders a lofty idea of our public mind. But, then, if it was never intended to build the Pacific in ten years; if it was never dreamt of; if the thing is now confessed to be absurd; on what ground can it be a reproach to the present Government not to adhere in any way to terms so foolish? Unlike its predecessor, the present Government is not disposed to take engagements it knows it can't carry; it asks Columbia to place implicit confidence in us, and to strive in friendship with us to attain the object we must have both at heart, the interest of the Dominion first, the interest of British Columbia second. British Columbia knowing that the preceding Government never intended to carry out the scheme in ten years, has no right to ask the present Government to bind itself to any specific terms. It ought to be enough for her to know that she will be dealt with with due regard for the common interest of the people of the Dominion. It has been said and repeated that we must be loyal to British Columbia; but in turn is it too much to ask British Columbia to be loyal to Canada, faithful to the interest of Canada as much as if it was her own? Has she really made such a sacrifice in coming into Confederation, that nothing short of blind sacrifice on our part will satisfy her? I don't believe so; she appreciates too highly the advantage of being united with us under a common rule, of participating in all the advantages of a common state; she knows too well that now that she is one with us, ruin for us would also mean ruin for her.

Hon. Mr. TRUDEL said he would not

follow his hon. friend in the remarks he had made on the old Pacific scheme. Although not his intention to do so, he had shown to whom was due the misfortune and want of success. The hon. Minister of Agriculture had endeavoured to impress on this House that the passing of this resolution would be equivalent to a motion of want of confidence, and that such motions should not be brought before this Chamber; the hon. gentleman knew very well if that was the significance of such votes, in the past, he would not have continued to occupy a seat on that side of the House, as many votes adverse to the Administration had been passed. He considered that when the other House could not condemn a measure of the Government without condemning the Government, that this House had the same right to express their opinion of the Government measures, especially when it had not the effect of putting difficulties in the way of the Government. They were here to judge of the measures of the Government on their merits without any regard to the consequences their vote would have on the Administration. The resolution proposed that this House should declare that the policy of the Government in this matter of the Pacific Railway did not meet with the approval of the House. He thought they could not approve more of the policy of the Government than the Government themselves. A few days ago they had heard the Secretary of State declare that they had abandoned part of the scheme, which the Government proposed themselves to follow last year—the Georgian Bay Branch.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST denied that the Georgian Bay Branch had been abandoned. The contract with Mr. Foster had been cancelled.

Hon. Mr. TRUDEL said, as he had stated before, the people of Quebec were not satisfied with the Georgian Bay Branch, as they considered it was not the best route to connect their railway system with the Pacific Railway; and now he would suggest that as the contract had been cancelled, it should be allowed to stand until it was ascertained that the North Shore was not a better route. He had to recognize the fact that the Minister of Agriculture had never before gone so far as he had done to-day. It was the first time they had had a frank declaration from him that he desired to build the Pacific Railway, and that he would do his utmost to bring the road to

completion. This was not sufficient, however, for the House to declare that the past policy of the Government had been good. With reference to the threats of the Hon. Minister of Agriculture that the members of this House from Quebec who would not support the Government in this matter would find that it would have the effect of depriving that Province forever of the benefit of the Pacific Railway, he thought the hon. gentleman must have taken them for children.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said the hon. gentleman had misinterpreted him; what he had said was, if the members for Central and Lower Canada voted for this motion, it would make them lose the link which was to unite the Pacific Railway with the railroads of Québec. Although this vote of censure, if carried, would not necessarily be fatal to the Government, as such a vote would be if carried in the other House, it was of great importance. This was the reason why he had said that this House had the right to explain their views and place them before the public, but it would be better not to pass such a vote of censure when, by doing so, it would not place the Opposition in any better position.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL—Then vote with us.

Hon. Mr. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST said the Government had shown by their pushing on the construction of the different links of the railroad; by their continuous exertions to make the location of the main line through and beyond the Rocky Mountains, and by the construction of the Pembina Branch their desire to fulfil to the best of their ability their obligation to British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. MACDONALD said he had to oppose both the amendments. Supposing the Government should be disposed not to proceed with this work as fast as they ought, they could fall back on this resolution, and say, "We have done what you told us, we have gone to work, having a due regard to the other financial requirements of the country, and could do no more." The object sought to be attained by the motion before the House had, in his opinion, been attained. An expression of opinion, embracing both sides of this question, had been had, and that was all that was necessary.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said before the question was put he claimed the right to make a few remarks. He felt the gravity of this subject; he felt that during this session, so singularly barren of any im-

portant legislation, this resolution was the most important motion that had been brought before the House, not only this session, but since Confederation. He believed that the majority of this House would agree with him that the policy of the Government, or the no policy of the Government with respect to the Pacific Railway from its inception down to the present hour, had not given satisfaction to the people of Canada. Their object was first to defeat the scheme of the late Government, which was, he considered, a national calamity. It was a difficult thing at the present day to have any of their political acts judged fairly, and they had only to look to the future for a proper verdict. As at present, he ventured to state, however forbearing or considerate their actions might be, it would be attributed to party warfare. Every hon. gentleman must have been convinced that from the time the late Government were overthrown the policy of the present Administration had been the most marvellous mass of incongruities and contradictions, that ever any Ministry stood god-father to, and he ventured to assert that it must discredit them in the eyes of every right thinking man in the Dominion. He was sorry to hear the allusions made to the position of British Columbia representatives in this Parliament, but he ventured to assert that if they did not numerically, they did financially represent as important constituencies as any other six members in the Commons and three in the Senate. He did not deny that British Columbians would like to have money expended in their Province, and he did not think that any other gentlemen would dislike to have money expended in their Provinces also. He thought it should have been beneath the dignity of the Hon. Minister of Agriculture to have brought down a statement, showing the amount of revenue from British Columbia, and the amount of public money expended there, as an argument against them. He would have looked for such a thing from a Lower Town grocer, but not from a Dominion statesman. If he thought the vote for his resolution would have the effect of overthrowing the Government he would hesitate to press it, as he did not think the country was quite ready for the change that was coming. But that the country was misrepresented he had not the slightest doubt, and he would point, as a proof, to the result of nearly every new election since the general election,

which showed a rapid growth of absolute want of confidence in the Administration of the day. He thought this debate had elicited a great deal of information on the subject, and when the outside public read the reports, it would, perhaps, have the effect of maturing public opinion, and forming some sound policy upon which the railway scheme could be based that would be acceptable to the entire Dominion.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY said in his opinion the Government had failed entirely to defend themselves and their vacillating course in this matter, or to grapple with the great question of the Pacific Railway.

The vote was then taken on the amendment, which was carried on the following division:—

CONTENTS—The Honourable Messieurs Aikins, Alexander, Allan, Armand, Belle-rose, Benson, Botsford, Bourinot, Campbell, Carrall, Chapais, Chinic, Cochrane, Cornwall, Dever, Dickey, Dickson, Ferrier,

Girard, Hamilton (Kingston), Kaulbach, McLelan (Londonderry), Macpherson, Miller, Montgomery, Muirhead, Odell, Price, Ryan, Shaw, Smith, Sutherland, Trudel, Vidal—34.

NON-CONTENTS—The Honourable Messieurs Archibald, Baillatgeon, Bureau, Chaffers, Christie (Speaker), Cormier, Fabre, Ferguson, Guevremont, Haythorne, Leonard, Letellier de St. Just, McClelan (Hopewell), McMaster, Macdonald (Victoria), Paquet, Reesor, Scott, Seymour, Simpson, Skead, Stevens, Wark, Wilmot—24.

Hon. Mr. DICKEY called attention to the fact that Mr. Archibald had voted, although he had paired with Mr. Northup.

Hon. Mr. ARCHIBALD said the pair only held good for Friday night.

Hon. Mr. MILLER said he understood from Mr. Northup that he would not have gone away until after the vote, only for having paired with Mr. Archibald.

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FRIDAY, April 7.

PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL—In rising to address the House on the subject to which my motion relates, I do so without any feeling of diffidence, for I feel in the first place that the subject is one which from its importance, will command the attention of the House; and, secondly, that the experience of fourteen years spent in British Columbia, and the knowledge of the country which I have necessarily attained, enable me to give to this hon. House the information which I am sure it would be glad to obtain. I have consequently placed on the minutes the following notice, "that I will call attention to the considerations (other than those of engineering difficulties) which affect the question of the location of the line of the Pacific Railway from Tete Jaune Cache to the ocean," and in proceeding with that motion I must premise that I shall endeavour and that it is my earnest wish to divest my remarks of any sectional or prejudiced character. There is no doubt that in these matters, one's mind and views are more or less, and perhaps unknown to oneself, biased by private interests, but in what I shall say I shall endeavour so to confine myself to matters of fact capable of the clearest demonstration that I will venture to assert that not one of my arguments shall be open to refutation. There can be no doubt that there are other questions besides those of mere engineering detail which intimately concern the settlement of so important a matter as the location of the line of the great trans-continental railway; and of such importance are those questions that it behoves both the country and the Parliament of the country to watch closely what is going on, and to have an intelligent and appreciative knowledge of the country through which the line should run. Hon. gentlemen have doubtless studied with some degree of attention the map of the projected course of the Canadian Pacific Railway which has laid upon the table of the House for some ten days, and having done so, I hope they will be able to follow me in the remarks which I may make on the three separate routes which are marked upon that map as having been surveyed through the Province of British Columbia. The first route to which I wish to call attention is the most southerly of those marked upon the map, and I shall distinguish it by the name of the "Frazer River route." The two

other routes I shall allude to as the "Bute Inlet" route and the "Gardner Channel route" those names being respectively the names of the so-called harbours which the routes reach on the coast of the mainland of British Columbia. The first point of superiority which is enjoyed by the "Frazer River Route" over its competitor, is embodied in the fact that it is the shortest and most direct of the routes from the Rocky Mountains to the coast. I hold in my hand a statement of the comparative distances of the surveyed routes, kindly supplied by the principal authority on the trans-continental survey, and I find by it that the distance from the Yellow Head Pass through the Rocky Mountains to Burrards Inlet, the projected terminus of the "Frazer River Route" is 513 miles, while from the same point to the Head of Bute Inlet is 560 miles. This will show a difference in distance in favour of the "Frazer River Route" of 47 miles, while the statement to which I refer says that the line to "Gardner Channel" not being accurately surveyed, the distance cannot be correctly given. That point of greater directness and shortness on the part of the "Frazer River Route" is the first which I will commend to the attention of the House as important. The next point is as to the grade on the line. In order to carry conviction on this point to the minds of hon. gentlemen it is necessary for me to describe the course of the "Frazer River Route." Leaving "Tete Jaune Cache," a point which is common to all the surveyed lines and situated a little to the westward of the Rocky Mountains, that route within a few miles strikes the head waters of the north branch of the River Thompson, and follows down the valley of that river till at a distance of some 200 miles it reaches a place called Kamloops on the main stream of the River Thompson. It thence follows, without deviation, the course of the river till it reaches the point of confluence of the River Thompson with the Frazer River, and thence following the valley of the latter stream it reaches the coast of the mainland of British Columbia, at the harbour of Burrard's Inlet. Hon. members will thus see that this route follows uninterruptedly what is the natural outlet of the country. It is confined to the valleys of the great rivers I have named, and they having no falls of importance in any part of their course to the ocean, it naturally follows that the natural grade is regular and favourable. All reports of the engineers engaged agree

upon the fact that this route affords by far the most favourable gradients. Compared with the line to Bute Inlet, the advantage enjoyed in this particular by the "Fraser River Route" stands out very prominently. On the "Bute Inlet route," as explained by the Hon. Secretary of State in this House and by the Premier in another place, the great difficulty is that when the line reaches within seventy miles of the coast it is found to be at an altitude of 3,460 feet, and necessarily great difficulties are encountered in the attempt to find the gradients, within so comparatively short a distance, which would enable the engineers to locate a line passing from an altitude of 3,460 feet to the sea level in the space of seventy miles. Hon. members will thus clearly perceive the advantage in favour of the "Fraser River Route," as to the grade of the surveyed lines. The next point which I will urge in favour of the "Fraser River Route" is that it passes through that portion of the Province, the south-eastern portion, which is blessed with the best climate. The winters throughout that section are very short, never exceeding four months in duration, seldom exceeding three; and the snow fall is comparatively light. This, of course, is a matter of great moment, and one which can be well appreciated by members of this House, who, residents of Canada, are accustomed to the severities of the winter of the country and its heavy falls of snow. To the eastward of the Cascade Range in British Columbia, in the section of country through which the "Fraser River Route" runs, the snow fall is so light and insignificant that it is unnecessary to allude to it; but in the gap which the Fraser River has cut for itself through the Cascade Range the snow fall is heavier. However, hon. gentlemen may relieve themselves of much apprehension on this score, when I assure them that during my residence in British Columbia I have had occasion to travel the road running through that pass during every month of the year; that I never saw more or knew of more than four feet of snow on the level in any place at any one time, and that during many winters the road can uninterruptedly be traversed by vehicles on wheels. Now the more northern routes surveyed through the country cannot for one moment be talked of in this way. Every one knowing anything of the subject knows that in British Columbia the snow fall in the more northern portions of the Province is excessive. On

this point then again has the "Fraser River Route" an incalculable advantage. Then again very important is the fact that the "Fraser River Route" would run through that part of the Province which is decidedly the most valuable as an agricultural and inhabitable country. Coming down as I have already described the valley of the North Thompson it reaches Kamloop's, already a thriving little place of some importance, and the centre of one of the best portions of British Columbia. The line thence passes for a considerable distance through a country which is now chiefly used for grazing purposes, but which is capable of great development in an agricultural way, till reaching the Fraser, it traverses the pass cut by that river in the mountains and over a country which is perhaps only valuable as affording a means of communication between the interior of the country and the coast. Lower down, however, the valley of the Fraser opens out and for the last 80 or 90 miles the line would pass through what is probably the most valuable agricultural section of British Columbia. Thus for the greater part of its course the "Fraser River route" passes through the country which is not only now the most thickly settled of all British Columbia, but which is the most habitable of all the mainland of that Province, and which is most capable of development; but, in addition, the line besides running through a desirable part of the country would also drain of its productions a still larger portion, and I have no hesitation in stating my belief that if the "Fraser River route" be adopted as the western portion of the trans-continental line, it would be found that on completion that portion at all events of the Canadian Pacific Railway would be self supporting. Such, hon. gentlemen, would not be the case with the more northerly routes where the country, owing to its high northern latitude and the great altitude of the major part of it above the level of the sea, is undesirable to a degree, and never could be now or a century hence inhabited by any number of people or made use of in an agricultural way. With regard to the most northern route of all, that to "Gardner's Channel," I shall dismiss all consideration of it by saying that I conceive it impossible that any governing party could, when in possession of all the facts which would enable them to come to a conclusion on such an important matter, ever dream for a moment of carrying the line through of that

route. In addition to all these points in favour of the "Frazer River Route," I have now to draw attention to one of importance quite as great. I maintain that the "Frazer River Route" reaches at Burrard Inlet the most favourable harbour on the coast of the mainland of British Columbia, a harbour accessible at all seasons, on every day of the year, to vessels of all sorts and sizes, and capable of holding half the entire marine of the world. To make a comparison between it and Bute Inlet would be futile. The latter is, as its name implies, a narrow inlet running from the sea some distance inland. Any one who has looked at the map will see that it is difficult of access on account of the multiplicity of islands which stud the straits between the mainland and Vancouver Island, and with reference to this point I will repeat an occurrence which took place during the past summer, and the intent of words which were used by one who should be an authority on such matters. During the past summer, the then Admiral on the Pacific station, Admiral Cochrane, took a trip up to Bute Inlet in one of Her Majesty's gun-boats. On that occasion he was accompanied by the present Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, Mr. Trench, and such was the difficulty experienced in navigating so small a craft as a gun-boat to the head of Bute Inlet, that the Admiral gave it as his distinct opinion that it would be quite impossible to place the terminus of a great trans-continental railway at such a place. It will be evident to hon. members that if a little gun-boat some 60 feet long, or thereabout, a boat built on purpose to poke its way through intricate and difficult channels, should experience great difficulty in reaching the head of "Bute Inlet," that it would be out of the question to expect a big ocean steamer three or four hundred feet long to get there at all. So much for the harbour reached by the "Frazer River Route," as compared with others; and now I will repeat the advantages of the more southern route over the "Frazer River Route." I claim for it the advantages that:

1st. It has greater directness and shortness than the other surveyed routes.

2nd. That it affords a perfect grade throughout its course.

3rd. That it runs through a part of the country blessed with a very short winter and a light snow fall.

4th. That it passes through a part eminently habitable and valuable.

5th. That at last it reaches the best harbour on the coast of the mainland.

Now, hon. gentlemen, these that I have mentioned are facts; facts, I maintain, that are incapable of refutation by any member of this House, whether representing British Columbia or other part of the Dominion; and, in addition, I wish to draw attention to another point of interest. It is this, that if the line of the "Frazer River Route" were adopted, the country through which it runs is capable of supplying, of growing all the articles of food necessary for the support of those engaged in the construction of the line, and that thus British Columbia would reap all possible advantage from the expenditure of so large a sum of money, and that the construction of the line would do so much to build up the Province that not only it, but the Dominion, through it, would be permanently benefitted. These advantages would be lost if the line chosen was one of the more northern. The country over which those lines pass is not fitted for agricultural occupation and consequently all supplies would be brought from the large markets of Portland and San Francisco to the south of us. On the other hand it is urged, and indeed the other night in another place it was stated by the Premier, that the extra cost of building this line virtually rendered the adoption of the Frazer River route out of the question. I question the fact of the extra cost of this line, for I know that the Government are not and never have been in possession of sufficient engineering data with reference to the "Frazer River Route" to be able to compare fairly the cost of that line, with that of others; but I say, besides, in a matter of this sort, that the primary cost of construction, although very important, is not by any means one which should override other important considerations, and that whether the question lies between the advisability of building a line 500 miles in length, over a country, to say the least of it, undesirable, and on the other hand of building it through a country favoured by nature, eminently suitable for habitation, and capable of supporting a large population, that their common sense alone would point out the desirability of the adoption of the latter line as the one which in course of construction would be of value to the country, and the only one which on completion would be found to be satisfactory. Perhaps I have now trespassed too long on the good nature and indulgence of the

house, (cries of no, no); but I have thought it my duty at this period, when the time for the location of the great Canadian Pacific Railway apparently approaches, to bring the matter prominently before the notice of the House and of the Government, and to impress upon the latter as seriously as I could the grave responsibility that lies upon them, of giving every attention to so important a matter, and of taking care that in coming to a definite conclusion, they do not fall into the mistake of adopting a policy penny wise but pound foolish. (Hear, hear.)

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said he felt indebted to the hon. gentleman who had just sat down for bringing this subject up for discussion, as the location of the line through British Columbia was of the very first importance. He also desired to say publicly that he disclaimed on the part of British Columbia, that it was their desire should in the slightest degree be influenced by any Provincial consideration whatever in the selection of the western terminus of the Pacific Railway; but, at the same time, they insisted that the selection of route should be based only upon the fullest and most reliable information that they could possibly obtain. After a great deal of consideration, and the experience of eleven years' residence in that country, during which time he had travelled over a great deal of it, and talked with a great many persons on the subject, he thought the Fraser River route offered more advantages, although possibly at some greater cost, than any other route for the welfare of the Dominion at large. For his own part, he would prefer that the railroad should go to Bute Inlet, but it would be necessary, if that route were adopted, to establish a steam ferry at that point, and carry the railroad over the Island of Vancouver to Esquimalt, which was a most inviting and commodious harbour. But Bute Inlet was out of the question, as far as a harbour was concerned. He did not ask for the construction of the trans-continental railway before the Government had made all the surveys, or before they were satisfied that they had found the very best route. He ventured to state that no person in British Columbia was so exacting or so untrue to the interests of the Dominion, as to ask the Government to put a pick in the ground until they were satisfied with the location of the line. He did not think any of the northern routes should be adopted. Prof. Macoun gave a high character to the

Peace River district east of the Rocky Mountains, but on the west side the country was a barren wilderness to the Pacific coast, and it could never be available for anything from an agricultural point of view. The Fraser River route would pass through the most valuable portions of the interior valleys of British Columbia. He was strongly in favour of that route himself, and he would read what another gentleman, whose name he was not authorized to give, had compiled from official sources on this question of route:—

From the summit of the Yellowhead Pass eastward, the line is common to all those surveyed westward—that is to say through British Columbia—the summit of the Pass being the boundary of that Province, the distances are therefore given from that point.

1. The Southern Group.—The only line of this group now considered is that *via* the Thompson and Fraser Rivers, to Burrard Inlet, with extension to English Bay, for a proper terminus, the other lines *via* the Coguilla to Fort Hope and to Howe Sound, are 35 to 40 miles shorter, but the grades are bad.

Length of line from Yellowhead

Pass to Burrard Inlet.....471 miles.

Extension to English Bay 5 miles, 476 "

Thence by sea to Esquimalt, say, 85 "

Total..... 561

The cost of constructing this line would be several millions of dollars in excess of any other line surveyed.

East of the Cascade Mountains.—It opens no new country. The lands it touches on are principally grazing lands, with a small proportion of agricultural lands, mostly requiring irrigation. It is estimated that the produce of the whole District (Cash Creek to the Okanagan), would be increased ten-fold by railway communication, but the inhabitants now are probably considerably under 500, and if they were increased in proportion, they would be under 5,000. The line would not touch the mineral districts at all, and the only increased facilities of reaching those would be by landing passengers and freight by railway at Spence's bridge.

West of the Cascade Mountains.—The lands in the Valley of the Fraser are all within reach of any part of the Pacific Coast by navigable tide-waters. The bulk of these lands are below New Westminster, while the railway would leave the Fraser Valley to cross to Burrard Inlet above that point, so that a railway is not necessary for the settlement of these

lands, or the exportation of their produce.

2. The Central Group.—The best of those lines is that from the Yellowhead Pass *via* Tetejaune Cache and down to (Fort George, thence by the valleys of the Stewart, Chilacoh, Blackwater, Nazco, Chicotin and Homaltheo valleys to Bute Inlet, in all of which there are rich agricultural lands of considerable extent; some of them are surrounded by an extent of grazing lands scarcely inferior to those of the southern Districts of the Province.

This line sweeps round the northern and eastern flank of the Cariboo mining range; and, by the Giscome Portage, would offer easy access to the Omineca or Peace River Mining District—its length is 550 miles.

But any line would be incomplete if its terminus were not capable of connection (without transshipment of freight) with Vancouver Island in all seasons and all weather; and thence with some Port favourably situated for Asiatic commerce. To construct a railway down the shore of Bute Inlet, and bridge the several channels between the mainland and Vancouver Island, would cost enormously. But for the present, it is thought steamboats carrying trains on board—as at Detroit and Sarnia—could be used between Waddington Harbour at the head of Bute Inlet, to Mary's Bay on Vancouver Island (near Seymour Narrows) a distance of about seventy-miles. This is the only line by which a steam ferry-boat, carrying trains on board, is practicable—as the channels are not disturbed by storms, being surrounded by high lands. This is near the centre of Vancouver Island and the richest part of British Columbia both for agriculture and minerals—coal and iron lying side by side.

But then for Asiatic commerce it would be necessary to construct the railway on Vancouver Island from Seymour Narrows to Stamp Harbour on the Alberni Canal, Barclay Sound, or to Esquimalt. The line to the former would stand thus:—

MILES.

Yellowhead Pass to Waddington Harbour.....	550—rail.
Steam ferry to Vancouver Island.....	75—water.
Railway to Stamp Harbour, say, 82—rail.	
Total.....	707

Or Yellowhead Pass to Waddington Harbour.....	550—rail.
Steam ferry to Vancouver Island.....	75—water.
Thence by rail to Deep Bay—common to both.....	57—rail.
Thence to Nanaimo, say.....	46— “
Thence to Esquimalt.....	67— “
Total.....	795

Northern Group.—The only line at present surveyed throughout is that to Karna-quot Bay, Dean Inlet—length 504 miles. This line, besides being the shortest, would probably cost less to construct—mile for mile—than any of the other lines. It is also 200 to 300 miles nearer to Japan and China (by the direct large circle sailing) than from Stamp Harbour, and fully 300 miles nearer than from Esquimalt. But that applies only to the homeward voyage, as on account of the currents, a southern course is taken outward to Japan and China, and a northern course homeward from these places. Herewith is a chart of the currents and the line of route from San Francisco to China and return laid down. From this you will see that the so-called Japan current sets away from the coast of that country eastward, its northern edge washing the long group of Aleutian islands, and its southern edge by the still-water of the Sargassa sea. The northern part of the current strikes full upon Queen Charlotte and Vancouver Islands; and if you were to place a thread on the globe—one end on the coast of Japan, and continuing the thread on a straight line as close to the Aleutian islands as practicable, and producing the same, still in a straight line—you will find it strikes near the southern part of Vancouver Island, and full in the current. The current then deflects to the south till it touches the northern edge of the Equatorial stream, which flows westward, then sweeps round northward to the coast of China and Japan, making an oblong oval, so that steamers from San Francisco make the outward voyage by the southern route, touching at Honolulu, and on their return take the northern route, hugging the Aleutian Islands and the coast of Vancouver Island. Therefore the northern terminus for the Canadian Pacific Railway is chiefly favourable as shortening the route from China, but unfavourable as lengthening the voyage to China and Japan, for no steamers, much less sailing vessels, will go against the

current. The northern line also opens up less good country than the central.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL contended that the line from Fort George to Bute Inlet would pass through a country the altitude of which was so great that it was not good for agriculture.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT asked if Waddington Harbour was not available for vessels by sailing north-west through Queen Charlotte Straits.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL said the navigation there must be intricate, as the channel was thickly studded with islands. In the paper read by his hon. friend it was mentioned that the cost of the Fraser River Route would be several millions of dollars more than Bute Inlet; but that authority did not calculate the expense of carrying the line from Bute Inlet down to Esquimalt.

Hon. Mr. CARRALL said the Government of the day were not in a position to state the comparative cost of the Fraser River route as compared with others, as no proper survey of that route had ever been made. As to the statement made by his hon. friend about the depth of snow, he had never heard of four feet of snow falling in one storm in any part of British Columbia; he had never seen as much as four feet of snow on the ground in that Province, and the road would not require snow sheds at any point, as the Union Pacific did. He was glad an hon. friend in the other House had brought up this question of another survey of the Fraser River route, and he hoped the Government would see fit to make it before adopting any other.

Hon. Mr. MACDONALD (Victoria)—The House must be sick and tired of the Pacific Railway question this session. Hon. gentlemen have been told about routes, rocks, snowdrifts, and canons, and I'll venture to say that they are not a bit wiser than they were before. I think it would be most unbecoming were I to stand up and contradict every word said by the hon. gentleman from Ashcroft; how could the House form an opinion if we both differed, but I do not intend expressing an opinion upon any route, because I think it is a matter which can only be decided by the Government and the engineers. I am willing for my part to leave it to the scientific men who have been over the country.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL interrupted, saying the hon. gentleman has never been over the country. He knows nothing

about it, and has no business to make these remarks.

Hon. Mr. MACDONALD—I have a right to make these remarks, and I contend that it is neither wise nor judicious to bring forward this question now. The hon. gentleman has lost his temper, and this bears me out in saying that the House could not arrive at any intelligent conclusion in this matter, not even if they had the whole of the people of British Columbia before them. The hon. gentleman forgot to mention that the most fertile lands on the Fraser are made accessible by the Fraser River running through them, and require no railway. He also forgot to mention that there are large tracts of fertile land from Bute up by Chilcotin towards Fort George, which require opening up. When Bute Inlet was first thought of by Mr. Waddington, it was as a harbour complete in itself without reference to Esquimalt. The hon. gentleman has said that Burrard Inlet is the best harbour in the Province. (Mr. Cornwall—I said on the mainland.) Mr. Macdonald—Although the hon. gentleman said in the Province, I accept the explanation. I repeat again that I am quite willing to leave this matter to the Government and the engineers, as they only can decide the matter.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL considered the hon. gentleman had no right to get up in his place and make such a statement that the opinions offered were sectional. The hon. gentleman had never been on the mainland in his life, except when he had visited New Westminster.

Hon. Mr. MACDONALD said it only illustrated the force of what he had stated. The hon. gentleman had forgotten that there were other tracts of fertile country in British Columbia than on the Fraser.

Hon. Mr. CAMPBELL said he did not think the hon. gentleman who had spoken last had done justice to the hon. gentleman who had introduced this subject to the notice of the House. The hon. gentleman had guarded himself against advocating any one route. He had told the House that he had no engineering knowledge of the Fraser River route, but he had certainly given information which, for his part, he considered very valuable, and it had given him a much clearer idea of the question than he ever had before. It was one thing to read engineer's reports, and another to have a *vive voce* description of the country, its character, resources

and capacity in the future. It was a speech that had given him more information than any other on this subject. He certainly thought that as far as this discussion had gone, it had given to the House a clear impression of the several routes, and hon. gentlemen would be disposed to believe that the arguments of his hon. friends were very cogent reasons in favour of the Fraser River route.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said he thought the discussion they had heard would satisfy the House that there were a great many routes in British Columbia that were open to discussion, as to which they should ultimately accept in the interest of the Dominion. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Cornwall) had spoken with the greatest possible favour of the route by the Fraser River. The hon. gentleman spoke from this standpoint in a broad and general sense, but it would be remembered that the hon. gentleman desired that the line should pass in the vicinity of his own property.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL disclaimed any sectional motives in advocating a survey of the Fraser River route.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said he did not tax the hon. gentleman with any such motive, but it was only human nature that an hon. gentleman in advocating a line which passed his own residence, must speak of it with some partiality. The hon. gentleman had selected that portion of British Columbia, believing it to be the best for business and agricultural purposes, and naturally he would also select it as the best for railway purposes. The remarks they had just heard, had proved that this whole question was surrounded with a multiplicity of embarrassments, that the engineering difficulties were much greater than the people were disposed to imagine. Hon. gentlemen who were inclined to censure the Government for not commencing the expenditure of money in British Columbia, would now see it would have been very unwise, when even the members from British Columbia were not in harmony on the selection of the route in that Province. The hon. gentleman had quoted from the report of the Chief Engineer of 1874, but if he had read further he would have given some more valuable information respecting the impracticability of that route; that the work would consist of a large amount of bridging over deep ravines; several miles of protection works along the river would be required, and the proportion of excessively heavy work extended over 57 miles,

and included 7 to 8 miles of tunnelling. He did not know the chief engineer had obtained any further information, but he presumed he had. He found in the rough estimate of the cost of that route it was put down at thirty-three millions of dollars. The number of routes surveyed or partly surveyed was three, and they might be divided into the Northern, Central and Southern; the latter terminated at Bute Inlet, the Central terminated at Dean Channel, and the latter terminated at Gardener Channel. Tete Jaune Cache was the point at which all the different roads converged. From that point west the road was located to Fort George, there crossing the Fraser River, and then running down to what was originally known as route No. 4 terminating at Bute Inlet. This was the favourite route, and it passed through a country somewhat superior in its capacity for settlement. Bute Inlet had been spoken of probably before any question of engineering difficulties had arisen. It had generally been looked upon as a very desirable harbour and he was not aware until hearing this debate, that any difficulty would arise in obtaining a harbour on the coast line at that point. The distance and surveys were all traced out to the coast line; it was not intended to stop at the extreme inland point as it was estimated that the line would at least go down to deep water. The route by No. 2 would be as his hon. friend would observe 513 miles, while the distance to Bute Inlet would be 550 miles. The cost, however, in the rough estimate of expenses that had been formed by the engineers, of that particular route, was placed at twenty eight millions of dollars, as compared with thirty-three millions of dollars by route No. 2 by the Fraser River to Burrard Inlet.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL said the cost of Bute Inlet route had not been calculated down to deep water, but only to the head of the Inlet.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said there were other lines north, which the engineers had condemned. The Government would be guided in the selection by the character of the country, its soil, climate, and general advantages. In the winter there was very little snow along the Bute Inlet route, and it was stated as a positive fact that horses and cattle remained out all winter.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL said the hon. gentleman must be ignorant of the fact

that a very few miles further north, the ground was frozen to the depth of thirty feet, and it never thawed out; the miners had to build fires on the ground in order to work it.

Hon. Mr. SCOTT said that was not the information he had received, but all these questions had to be decided before the Government would be justified in selecting a route. He would announce that the telegraph contractor, who was now at Ottawa, had that morning received a through telegraphic despatch from Battle River, via Selkirk, within two

hundred miles of Fort Edmonton. This would bear out the statement he had made a few days previous as to the progress of that work.

Hon. Mr. CORNWALL said any hon. gentleman who knew British Columbia, would know that the statement of the Secretary of State that horses and cattle were able to remain out during the winter on the northern route, could not be correct. He did not think there ever was such a thing as a horse or a cow within two hundred miles of the place.